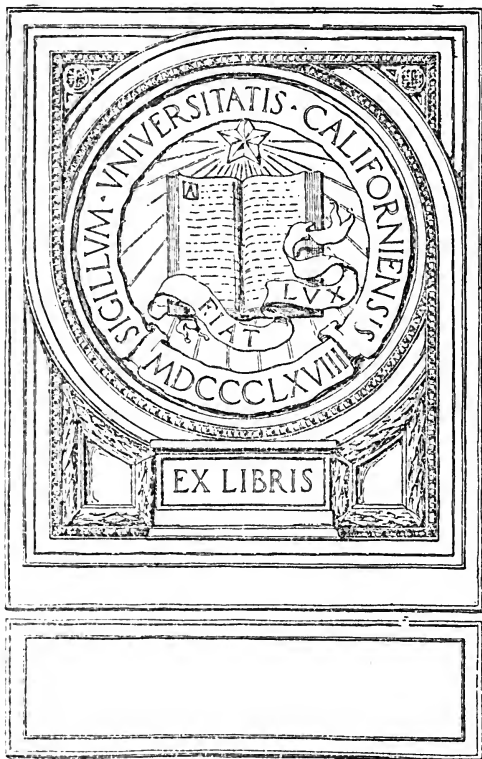


EARLY CHINESE HISTORY

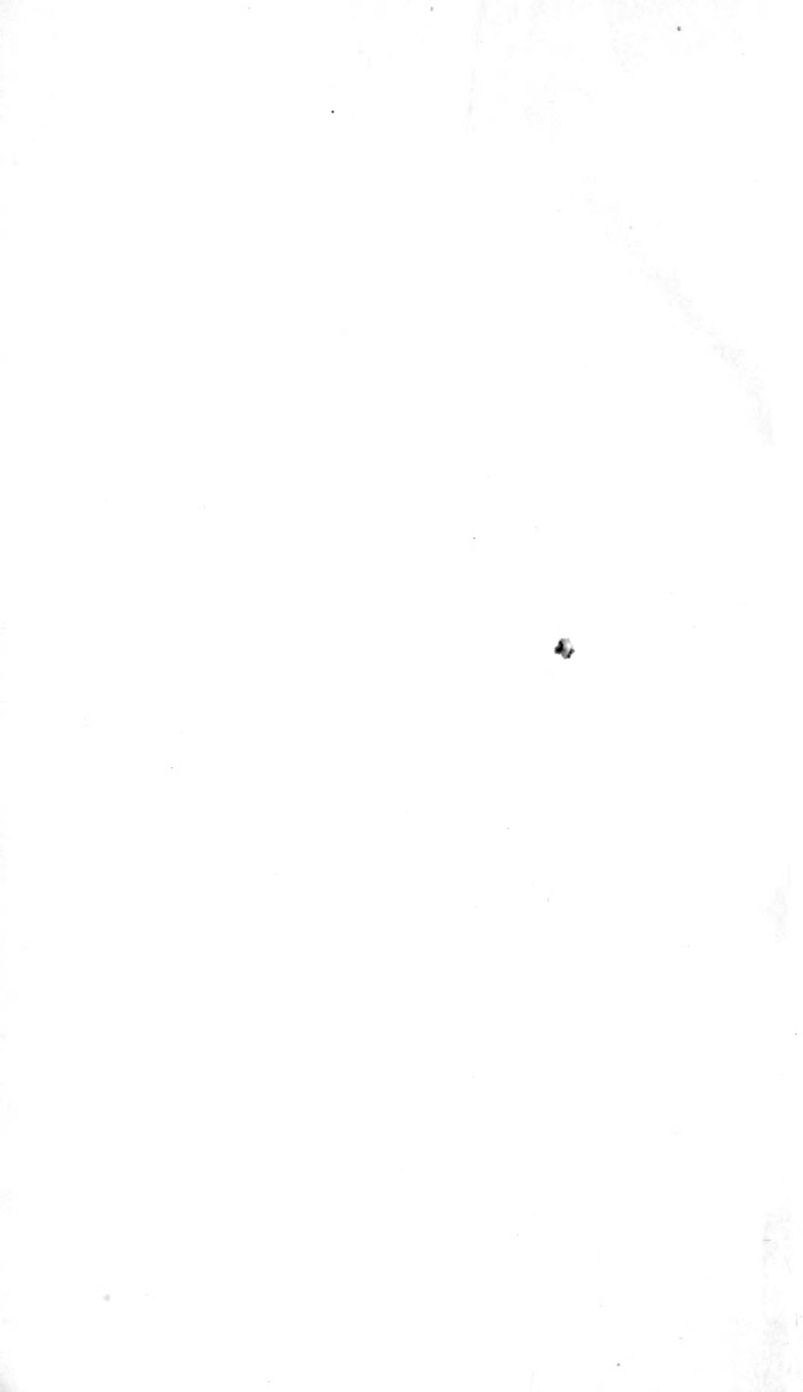
ARE THE CHINESE CLASSICS
FORGED?

BY
H. J. ALLEN

GIFT OF
HORACE W. CARPENTIER







EARLY CHINESE HISTORY



UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA

EARLY CHINESE HISTORY

ARE THE CHINESE CLASSICS FORGED?

BY

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NOTE

THE General Literature Committee have published this volume on the Chinese Classics because it has been written by one who has spent a considerable time in China. The Committee, while they disclaim responsibility for the views expressed therein, which are not those of most scholars, feel that the writer, from his long study of the question, is entitled to give the results of that study to the world.

Carpenter

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EARLY CHINESE HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

THE study of Chinese history and literature, although a fascinating one, is beset with difficulties, as we have no monumental stelæ or tombs, to which when unearthed we can appeal, as in Egypt, to prove the antiquity of the Chinese race. There is no contemporary history of other nations, moreover, which might have helped our investigations, for, as Mr. Parker says, no one else but the Chinese themselves records anything about them. The Rev. C. J. Ball certainly published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1891, a list of several ideograms common to Akkadian and Chinese, which may be thought to prove that both nations came from the same stock, but that stock might have originated in Central America. M. Terrien de Lacouperie accumulated a mass of so-called evidence to prove that the names of the old Chinese emperors were identical with those of the Babylonian mythical kings, but it will not bear careful investigation. For instance, he identified Kudur Nakhunta, the king of Susa, who in B.C. 2295 conquered Babylonia, with Huang-ti (literally Yellow Emperor), whose personal appellation was Yu-hsiung-shih, erroneously written in Mayers' 'Chinese Reader's Manual' Yu-nai-shih, and whose date is given as B.C. 2698 to 2599. This particular point was commented on by Dr. Legge in

his paper on Chinese Chronology, finally revised in 1892, and read before the Victoria Institute. There is, indeed, nothing to show how the Chinese people came to inhabit China, and although many sinologists assert that they came from the north-west along the valley of the Yellow river, there are good reasons for supposing that they came from the south-west of China proper. Their ancient classics, which are all we have to work upon, are unfortunately not trustworthy. The 'Books of History' and 'Poetry' are supposed to be their most ancient literature, and here we are confronted with the statement that all the classical works were burnt by order of the emperor in the year B.C. 213, with the exception of those treating of agriculture, medicine, divination, and the records of the Ch'in dynasty. So rigorous was the decree that even those who dared to speak about the classics of History and Poetry were to be put to death. This decree was revoked by the second emperor of the Han dynasty in the year B.C. 191, and from that time we are led to believe that every effort was made to bring the ancient books to light. In the 'History of the Anterior Han,' completed about A.D. 100, we read that "King Hsien of Hochien offered rewards of money and silk for well-written copies of ancient works, and among those secured by him were the 'Book of Rites,' 'Mencius,' Mao's edition of the 'Book of Poetry,' and the 'Spring and Autumn Annals.'"

Our principal, and indeed oldest trustworthy authority for the account of the manner in which the 'Book of History' and the other classics were recovered, is the 'Historical Records' (Shih-chi) written by Ssuma Ch'ien about B.C. 90 from materials collected by his father. The account (chap. cxxi.) is as follows: "One Fushêng (whose name means Hidden Birth), a native of Chinan, was at first a scholar of erudition under the Ch'in dynasty. In the reign of

the Emperor Hsiao-wên (B.C. 179-157) it was desired that search should be made for any one who could reconstruct the Shangshu ('Book of History'), as the empire did not possess (a copy). It was then reported that Fushêng was a person able to reconstruct it. The emperor wished that he should be summoned (to Court); but at this time Fushêng was over ninety years of age and too old to travel, so instructions were given to the director of sacrifices, and Chao-ts'ò went to fetch (the book). The emperor was memorialized to the effect that at the time of the burning of the books, Fushêng hid some books in a wall, after which time the great war began, and he wandered away. When the Han dynasty established itself, Fushêng looked for his books, but several tens of chapters were lost, and he only recovered twenty-nine chapters." Wei Huang of the first century A.D., says, "Fushêng, being old, could not speak correctly, and his language not being understood, his daughter was required to interpret for him to Chao-ts'ò; but the Ch'í dialect was so different from that of An' hui, that Chao-ts'ò lost two or three words out of every ten which she uttered. Getting the general gist, however, he worked up the meaning as best he could." The last account, as being the most marvellous, is the one most generally accepted by Chinese scholars, as Dr. Legge says. These twenty-nine—or, rather, thirty-four chapters, counting the subdivisions—constitute what is known as the modern text of the 'Book of History'; and the remaining twenty-four chapters, or the ancient text, were apparently recovered in quite as wonderful a way.

Ssuma observes, "The K'ung family possessed the ancient text of the Shangshu. K'ung An-kuo deciphered it by means of the modern text, and in this way brought to light the lost books of his house. He recovered more than ten chapters; and so the Shangshu was augmented."

In the 'Book of the Anterior Han' (chap. xxx.) we read, "The ancient text of the Shangshu was brought from the wall of Confucius' house. At the end of the reign of the Emperor Wu, king Kung of Lu state pulled down the wall of Confucius' house with the intention of enlarging his own palace, and found therein the ancient text of the Shangshu, the 'Book of Rites,' the 'Discourses,' and the 'Filial Piety' classic—several tens of chapters—all written in the ancient text. When king Kung entered the house he heard the music of drums, lutes, harps, bells, and musical stones; so, being frightened, he stopped the work of destruction. K'ung An-kuo, who was a descendant of Confucius, secured all these chapters of the Shu-king, and used them for his examination of the (other) twenty-nine chapters; he also found sixteen more chapters. K'ung Ankuo presented them to the emperor, but as the sorcery affair occurred at that time (B.C. 91), they were not included in the Imperial Library catalogue."

In the fifty-third chapter of the same work, however, we read that "Kung was appointed king of the Lu state in the third year of the reign of the emperor Hsiao-king (B.C. 154), and died twenty-eight years afterwards (B.C. 127). This was only the fourteenth year of the emperor Wu, who reigned from B.C. 140 to 87, and consequently the statement that he pulled down the house at the end of Wu's reign must be erroneous—indeed, Wang Chung (A.D. 19-90), in his critical disquisitions, says that Confucius' house was not pulled down in his reign at all, but in that of his predecessor (B.C. 156-141).

However complete the destruction of ancient books was, and from the difficulty of procuring a copy of the 'Book of History' we are led to suppose it must have been, it is passing strange that the Board of Erudite Scholars, was not applied to, for in the memorial of Li-ssü urging that the books should

be burnt, we are expressly told that "the official histories, except the Ch'in records, should be all burnt, excepting those under the superintendence of the Board of Erudite Scholars, and those throughout the empire who dared to conceal the classics of 'Poetry' and 'History' or the 'Sayings of the Hundred Schools,' must be all brought before the various local civil and military authorities, in order that they (the books) may be burnt." The aforesaid Board should, therefore, have had no difficulty in supplying copies of ancient books without the expedient of finding them immured in walls. From the foregoing facts, then, it is not unnatural to suppose that the cupidity of the Chinese people led them to forge old works, and pretend that they had been discovered after several years' concealment, in order to secure the offered rewards. Ssuma Ch'ien and K'ung An-kuo seem to have been the arch-culprits in this respect, and no doubt to pose as the descendant of the great sage was a sufficient inducement for the latter's action. With regard to Confucius himself, we must note that it is not until the year A.D. 1, that special honours were conferred on him; and although he is credited with having edited the classics, it is not until 388 years after the recorded date of his death that we are informed of this fact. In a pamphlet entitled "Is Confucius a Myth?" read before the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1886, I pointed out that much of the biography of the sage, given us by Ssuma Ch'ien, has been taken from the 'Discourses,' which, Dr. Legge informed us, could not have been written by the disciples of the sage, but may have been compiled by the disciples of those disciples. In Rev. Ernst Faber's criticism of my pamphlet referred to above, it is stated that besides the 'Historical Records,' there are older authorities extant, such as 'Tso-Chuan,' 'Mencius,' etc. It will be necessary, then, for me to take the several Chinese classical

works, and show that they were one and all forged during the Han dynasty. Instead, however, of commencing with the 'Book of History,' I propose to give a translation of the earlier chapters of the 'Historical Records' of Ssuma Ch'ien, which cover a period when the different classics are supposed to have been first published. It will be seen that ten of the fifty-eight chapters of the 'Book of History' are quoted by Ssuma *in extenso*, while some forty others are referred to more or less fully. He does not profess to be quoting from another work, and passages are sometimes rendered in simpler language although the meaning is identical. He quotes, too, from the preface to the 'Book of History,' the 'Discourses,' 'Mencius,' and 'Tso's Narrative.'

Sinologists are by no means agreed as to whether the personages mentioned in the classics are real or not, or when veritable history may be said to begin, and mythical legends end. Dr. Edkins believed in the existence of the semi-bestial Fu-hsi (B.C. 3000), the earliest worthy referred to in the classics. Dr. Legge said that he could as soon doubt the existence of Abraham and the other Hebrew patriarchs in our sacred scriptures as that of Yao, Shun, and Yü; and in this view the late Sir Thomas Wade concurred. In the prolegomena to the classics, however, Dr. Legge believed that 'the earliest date which can be determined with certainty is that of an eclipse of the sun, B.C. 775.' The rise of the Hsia dynasty (B.C. 2200), that of the Shangs (B.C. 1766), and that of the Chous (B.C. 1122) have all been referred to as the dawn of Chinese history by different authorities. Mr. Parker ('China, Past and Present,' pp. 6, 7) says that 'there are fairly trustworthy accounts or traditions that about B.C. 977 a Chinese emperor made a great military tour over Mongolia,' although he thinks that we do not arrive at the portals of 'true history until B.C. 827,' *i.e.* prior to the alleged date of most

of the persons named in the 'Books of History' and 'Poetry.'

Father Premare, who had access to the imperial libraries, thought that the 'certain period' is posterior to B.C. 425.

Although I have referred to the "burning of the books," said to have taken place in B.C. 213, I am by no means sure that the reign of the Emperor Shih-huang (B.C. 250-209), or even that of the first emperor of the Han dynasty, is altogether to be considered 'true history.'

The double inverted commas, which seem to occur at odd intervals, serve to mark quotations from the 'Book of History,' or other Chinese classics.

CHAPTER I

RECORDS OF THE THREE SOVEREIGNS

P'AO-HSI (Great Brilliant),¹ of the clan-name Wind, replacing Sui-jên (the man who procured fire by friction), continued Heaven's line and became king. His mother, named Hua-hsü, trod in the footprint of a giant² near Thunder lake, and gave birth to P'ao-hsi at Ch'êng-chi. He had the body of a serpent,³ the head of a man, and possessed the virtue of a holy one. "Looking up, he regarded the signs in the sky, and looking down, he regarded the forms on the earth; about him he regarded the marks on birds and beasts, as well as what was suitable to the soil. With respect to what was near, he took into consideration the different parts of his body, and as to what was afar off, all the beings. He was the first to delineate the eight trigrams,⁴ whereby he fully understood the attributes of the divine intelligences, and whereby he classified the nature of all things."⁵ He invented "written characters and contracts, to supersede (the institution of) knotted cords."⁵ He then first regulated marriage rites, arranging that a pair of hides should be given as wedding presents. "He wove nets and snares to teach men how to hunt and fish,"⁵ and was therefore called Fu-hsi (hidden victims). He kept sacrificial beasts for the kitchen, and so was called P'ao-hsi (kitchen victims). He had an auspicious dragon omen, and enrolled his officials under the names of dragons, and they were styled dragon officers⁶ He

made the thirty-five stringed lute. Being king by virtue of the tree (or wood), he fixed his thoughts on the rules of spring, so the 'Book of Changes' says, "The god came forth from the sign Chên" (*i.e.* the East), and the 'Book of Monthly Rules,'⁷ in the chapter styled 'Budding Spring,' says, "The god in question is Great Brilliant," and this is correct. His capital was at Ch'ên. In the East he raised a *fêng*⁸ altar on Mount T'ai, and having reigned eleven years, died. His posterity, according to the 'Spring and Autumn' classic period (B.C. 721-480), were (lords of) "Jên, Hsü, Hsü-chü, and Chuan-yü, all offshoots of the 'Wind' clan."

Nü-kua, who was also of the 'Wind' clan, had the body of a serpent, the head of a man, and the virtue of a divine and holy being. He reigned in the room of Fu-hsi, under the title of Nü-hsi. He did not change or invent anything, and only made the pipes of the reed-organ, so the 'Book of Changes' does not mention him, and he is not included in the quinary cycle. One authority says that Nü-kua was also king by virtue of the tree, and actually a descendant of Fu-hsi, that several generations having elapsed, metal and wood had followed in due rotation, and that the cycle being completed, a new one had begun. Special distinction is accorded to Nü-kua on account of his great merits: he is placed among the three sovereigns, and so there is an additional king of the tree. In his latter years a prince Kung-kung (public works), relying on his cleverness and his punishments, with violence played the tyrant, and though he did not become king, yet by water he surmounted the tree.⁹ He fought with Chu-yung¹⁰ (director of fire), but was not successful. "He was angry, and with his head butted against mountain 'Incomplete,' which fell, so the pillar of heaven¹¹ was broken and a corner of the earth chipped off. Nü-kua then fused stones of five colours to repair the heavens, cut off

the feet of a tortoise to support the four corners of the earth," collected the ashes of reeds to stop the overflowing waters, and rescue the province of Chi. The earth was then at rest, the heavens made whole, and the old system of things was unaltered.

3 After the death of Nü-kua, Shên-nung (Divine Labourer) reigned. The Blazing god, Divine Labourer, was of the Chiang clan, and his mother, named Nü-têng, was Yu-Kua's daughter. When Shao-tien's¹² concubine, she was influenced by a divine dragon, and gave birth to the Blazing god. He had the body of a man and the head of an ox, and grew up on the banks of the Chiang river, whence he derived his clan name. As he was king by virtue of fire, he was called Blazing god, and named his officers after fire. "He cut down trees to make ploughshares, and bent wood into the form of ploughs. The use of ploughs and spades was taught by him to myriads."¹³ As he was the first to teach husbandry, he was called Divine Labourer. He then offered the sacrifice at the close of the year, and with red whips lashed the plants and trees. He was the first to taste different plants, and the first to obtain curative drugs. He also made the five-stringed lute. "He taught men to hold mid-day markets, and, after bartering their goods, to retire, each obtaining what he required."¹³ He afterwards multiplied the eight trigrams, so as to form sixty-four hexagrams. He first had his capital at Ch'ên, and then dwelt at Ch'ü-fou. After reigning a hundred and twenty years, he died, and was buried at Ch'ang-sha. Shên-nung came originally from burning mountain, so Tso (Ch'iu-ming) says, "The son of burning mountain was called Pillar;" he was also called "Whetstone Mount," so the 'Book of Rites'¹⁴ says, "He of the Whetstone Mount possessed the empire," and this is correct. Shên-nung took the daughter of 'Rushing Water,' by name T'ing-pa, and made her his wife. He had a son, emperor Grief; Grief

had a son, the emperor Capable ; Capable had a son, emperor Elm-net. There were altogether eight generations and five hundred and thirty years, and then Hsien-yüan¹⁵ arose. Among his posterity were Chou, Fu, Kan, Hsü, Hsi, Lu, Ch'í, Chi, I, Hsiang, Shên, and Lü, who were all descendants of the Chiang clan ; they were also princes, and some of them were made presidents of the four mountains. In the Chou dynasty the marquis of Great and the earl of T were wise ministers of the king ; Ch'í and Hsü were chieftains and leaders of the princes in the Middle Kingdom. Now the virtues of the holy man, being abundant, extensive, and great, his dignities and his progeny were numerous, glorious, and long-lived.

One author explains that the three sovereigns were the sovereign of heaven, the sovereign of earth, and the sovereign of man. This was at the beginning of creation, when prince and subject existed for the first time. What is stated in the 'appendix to the Plan' cannot be entirely rejected, and I have therefore mentioned it in due order. When heaven and earth were first established there were twelve¹⁶ sovereigns of heaven. Calm and unruffled, they lived in a state of inaction, and as to their manners they reformed themselves. They were kings by virtue of the tree, the years being calculated by the aid of the constellation Shêt'í ; they were twelve brothers, each of whom reigned eighteen thousand years. The sovereigns of earth were eleven in number, and kings by virtue of fire ; they were eleven persons of one family, who flourished at the Bear's-ear and Dragon's-gate mountains. They also reigned each eighteen thousand years. The sovereigns of man were nine in number, who, riding in cloud chariots, drawn by six winged creatures, came from Valley-mouth. They were nine brothers, who divided the rule of the nine provinces. They each built walled towns, and lived altogether for one hundred and fifty generations, that is for forty-five

thousand six hundred years. After the sovereigns of man there were the Five dragons, Sui-jên, Ta-ting, Po-huang, Chung-yang, Chuan-hsü, Li-lu, Li-lien, Hê-hsü, Ts'un-lu, Hun-tun,¹⁷ Hao-ying, Yu-ch'ao,¹⁷ Chu-hsiang, K'o-t'ien, Yin-k'ang, and Wu-huai. These are the names of those who, after the three sovereigns, possessed the empire, but as they are not recorded in the chronological lists, we do not know the length of their reigns, nor their genealogies, nor where their capitals were. The poems of Han, however, assert that from ancient times those who performed the *fêng* ceremony on mount T'ai, and the *Shan* ceremony on mount Liang-fu, were over ten thousand in number. Confucius observed this, but he could not know them all; and Kuantzü says, "Formerly there were seventy-two persons who performed the *fêng* ceremony on mount T'ai, but only twelve whom I, I-wu, knew." At the head of these he places Wu-huai, but before Wu-huai and after the sovereigns of heaven the chronology is profoundly abstruse. How did the sovereigns and kings ascend the throne, and how were they proclaimed? The old books are lost, and so we cannot fully discuss the point; yet should we say that there were no emperors or kings? Now an appendix to the 'Spring and Autumn annals' says, "From the creation to the capture of the Lin¹⁸ (B.C. 481) there have elapsed three million two hundred and seventy-six thousand years, divided into ten epochs, and comprising in all seventy thousand six hundred generations. The first epoch was called that of the nine heads; the second, the 'Five dragons;' the third, Shê-t'i; the fourth, Ho-lo; the fifth, Lien-t'ung; the sixth, Hsü-ming; the seventh, Hsiu-fei; the eighth, Hui-t'i; the ninth, Shan-t'ung; and the tenth epoch is called Liu-chi. Now the Liu-chi epoch corresponds to the era of the Yellow Emperor,¹⁹ and having determined the period of time comprised in the nine foregoing epochs, I have recorded it in this supplementary history.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹ It is probable that Ssuma Chêng, who wrote this supplementary chapter to the 'Historical Records,' circa A.D. 720, is thinking of the planet Jupiter when he writes about the first of his three sovereigns, for wood, spring, and the east are all mentioned in connection with him, and the said element, season, and point of the compass usually correspond, according to Chinese ideas, to this particular planet. Great Brilliant's reign of eleven years refers also, no doubt, to the time in round numbers that Jupiter takes in revolving round the sun.

² With the 'footprint of a giant' we must compare the honour paid to the sacred S'ripâda, or footprint of Buddha, in India, Burmah, and Siam, and the legend is probably derived from Buddhist teachings. Similar miraculous conceptions are constantly found in the classics of China.

³ Buddhism was grafted on the worship of Nagas, who were in India a class of demons with human faces and serpent-like extremities. Again, the first of the seven constellations of the eastern quadrant, named the Horn (α and ζ of Virgo), on the head of the azure dragon, is said to be the "chief of the productive energies of spring." Azure is the colour corresponding to Jupiter. Another Chinese author says "the horn constellation is the head of the azure dragon." The dragon was said to bury itself in the mud, and to awake in spring; thus it became the symbol of the productive force of moisture, when by means of genial rains all nature renewed itself (*vide* Schlegel, 'Uran. Chin.,' p. 53).

⁴ The eight trigrams are combinations of triple lines alternately whole or broken, which are reducible to the four symbols, which consist in but two lines each, and these, again, to their two primary forms, which represent the first division or development of the male and female principles from unity, or the ultimate principle ('Mayers' Manual,' p. 333. See also 'Appendix iii. to Book of Changes.')

⁵ These quotations are from 'Confucius' Commentary to the Book of Changes,' Part. II. Chap. 2.

⁶ We have in the Tso-chuan, under the seventeenth year of Duke Ch'ao, a long paragraph about how officers were named by these ancient sovereigns, as follows: "In autumn viscount T'an came to court and as the duke was feasting him Ch'aotzu asked why Shao-hao gave his officers the names of birds. Viscount T'an replied, 'I know, for he was my ancestor. Formerly Huang-ti ruled by the help of clouds, and therefore he

had cloud-officers with the names of clouds. Blazing god ruled by the aid of fire, and therefore he had fire-officers with fire names. Kung-Kung ruled by the aid of water, and therefore he had water-officers with water names. Great Brilliant ruled by the aid of dragons, and therefore he had dragon-officers with dragon names. When my first ancestor Shao-hao (Lesser Brilliant) came to the throne a phoenix appeared, therefore he ruled with birds, making bird-officers with bird names. The Phoenix was director of the calendar, the Swallow master of the equinoxes,' etc. This may refer to the tribal use of the totems of birds and animals.

⁷ The 'Book of Monthly Rules' is the fourth chapter of the 'Book of Rites.'

⁸ There seems to have been a good deal of mystery about the performance of the *fêng* ceremonial, which perhaps was connected with sun-worship. In chapter xxviii. of the 'Historical Records' there is an account of it under the date B.C. 110, which is called the first year of the original *fêng* ceremony.

⁹ The ancient Maya nation of Central America called their country the land of the tree; the peninsula of Yucatan, with volcanoes at its base, being represented in their maps as a thorny tree with a branch to the east. They had a tradition that the sea, which they called Canah, had at a remote period rushed in, and, submerging the greater part of their empire, formed the gulf of Mexico, and that on this occasion many of their people had taken to their boats, and crossed the Pacific ocean. One theory is that they were the ancestors of the Chaldeans, Indians, Egyptians, and other nations (*vide* Plongeon's 'Queen Moo'). In that case some of them may have populated China, and Fu-hsi, coming from the East, be merely an echo of this tradition.

¹⁰ In the 'Book of Rites' Chu-yung is stated to have presided over the summer. The quotation, which follows, is from Lietzū.

¹¹ The pillar of heaven was the name of a mountain in Kueichow province. The Mayas imagined that the vault of heaven was supported on four pillars, one at each of its four corners, and the Hindoos say that the earth is supported on the back of an elephant, which stands on the back of a tortoise. The molten stones of five colours might refer to a traditionary volcanic eruption.

¹² The Annamite annals show that one of their earliest kings, Hung, divided his kingdom of Vên-lang into fifteen provinces, one of which was called Chaû-diên (now known as Sontay), and it is probable that this suggested the name Shao-tien. We shall see that many names of people in this history

are taken from those of districts and places as Hua-hsü, Nükua, etc. Yukua or Yu-wa was the name of a lake west of Anhsi, in Kansu province, and in the History of the Han dynasty it is related that in B.C. 113 "a horse came from the Yukua water, and the poem of the celestial horse was composed." The horse was presented to the emperor, who thought there was something supernatural about it.

¹³ The two quotations are from the 'Book of Changes,' Appendix III., sect. 2.

¹⁴ The reference is to chapter xx. of the 'Book of Rites.'

¹⁵ Hsien-yüan, the prename of the Yellow Emperor ('Historical Records,' chap. ii.) was the name of a constellation supposed to represent a Chinese chain-pump (Schegel, 'Uran. Chin.,' p. 452).

¹⁶ 'The General Mirror of History' gives thirteen sovereigns of heaven, and in that case the number of years they reigned, or $13 \times 18,000 = 234,000$, and when the reigns of the sovereigns of earth, or $11 \times 18,000 = 198,000$ years, are added, we have a grand total of 432,000 years, equal to the ten Babylonian antediluvian epochs of Berosus, as well as to the Indian Kaliyuga. In the Hindoo calendar the cycle of five years mentioned by the name of Yuga is stated to be the basis of calculation for the larger cycles (Fergusson, "Chinese Chronology," p. 139).

¹⁷ Hun-tun, which means literally chaos, was the astronomical term for the year B.C. 93, while Yu-ch'ao (nest possessor) was the astronomical term for the year B.C. 101.

¹⁸ The fabulous creature called the Lin is stated to have been captured two years before the death of Confucius, and to have presaged that event.

¹⁹ The word Ti will be rendered in future emperor when applied to the reigning sovereign, although the Five Ti generally refer to the Five Major planets. I have referred to the Buddhist signification of the names of the epochs in an article in the *China Review*, vol. xiv. p. 21.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL RECORDS : THE FIVE EMPERORS

“**H**UANGTI (Yellow Emperor) was the son of Shaotien.” His surname was Kung-sun (Duke’s Grandson) and his personal name was “Hsien-yuan. From his birth he had divine power ; as a babe he could speak ; as a boy he was always quick ; as a youth he was generous and alert ; and as a man thoroughly intelligent.”¹ In the time of Hsien-yüan the descendants of Shên-nung became corrupt. The princes made raids on each other, fought and harassed the people, and Shên-nung could not control them. Hsien-yüan therefore practised himself in the use of shield and spear so as to subdue those who would not pay homage. The princes all came, submitted and were obedient, except Ch’ih-yu² (Stupid Criminal), who was the fiercest and most unconquerable. Blazing god wished to encroach on the privileges of the princes, so they all put themselves under the protection of Hsien-yüan. The latter then cultivated virtue, raised troops, “ruled the five elements, sowed the five kinds of grain, subjugated the myriad nations, and regulated the four quarters of the globe. He trained bears, leopards, panthers, lynxes, and tigers, and fought with their aid against Blazing god in the plain of Pan-ch’uan, and after three battles he gained the victory.” Stupid Criminal rebelled, and would not obey the emperor’s commands. Yellow Emperor then levied an army

of the princes, fought against Stupid Criminal in the plain of Stricken-Deer, and finally captured and slew him. The princes thereupon exalted Hsien-yüan, and made him Son of Heaven in place of Shên-nung. This was Yellow Emperor. Those in the empire who would not obey him Yellow Emperor pursued and conquered, but those who were quiet he left alone. He cut through mountains, opened roads, and was never at rest. Eastward he went as far as the sea, ascended Ball mountain and Taitung; westward he went to Hollow Cave,³ and ascended Cock's Head hill; southward he went as far as the Great River, and climbed Bear and Hsiang hills, while to the north he repulsed the Hsün-yu. He verified the (nobles') credentials on Cauldron hill, and built a town at the foot of Stricken-Deer hill. He moved here and there, having no settled abode, and his troops formed an encampment about him. His officials' names were all taken from clouds, and he ordered them to be called cloud-officers.) He appointed senior and junior high superintendents, who supervised the myriad states, and they lived together in harmony. The sacrifices to the demons and spirits, to the hills and streams, and the *fêng* and *Shan* ceremonies were increased in number. He secured a valuable tripod, and calculated the days in advance, divining by means of the milfoil. He raised to power 'Lord of the Winds,' 'Strength-pastor,' 'Ever-first,' and 'Great Swan,' and through them ruled the people. "He followed the numbers connected with heaven and earth, light and darkness, and the interpretations as to life and death," existence and decay. "He planted in their seasons the different crops, herbs, and trees; and encouraged the evolution of birds, beasts, insects, and reptiles. In every place he tabulated the movements of the sun, moon, stars, and constellations, and kept a register of the action of the waves, the soils, stones, metals, and jade; he

worked diligently with his mind, strength, ears, and eyes, and regulated the use of water, fire, wood, and other things." He had an auspicious omen of the power of the earth, and was therefore called Yellow Emperor. Yellow Emperor had twenty-five sons, of whom fourteen bore clan names. "Yellow Emperor lived on the hillock of Hsien-yüan, and married a daughter of 'Western Range,' namely, Lei-tsu, and she was Yellow Emperor's principal wife." She bore two sons, both of whose descendants possessed the empire. One of them was called Hsüan-hsiao⁴; this was Ch'ing-yang (Azure Male) who came down to dwell on the river Chiang. The other called Ch'ang-yi (Splendid Idea) "came down to dwell on the Jo water. Ch'ang-yi married a woman from the hills of Shu (*i.e.* Ssüch'uan province), who was called Ch'ang-pu (Splendid Servant)." She bore a son Kao-yang (High Male), who had the virtue of a holy man. Yellow Emperor died, and was buried at Ch'iaoshan (Bridge mountain), and his grandson, Ch'ang-yi's son, High Male, that is emperor Chuan-hsü, came to the throne.

Emperor Chuan-hsü, or High Male, "was Yellow Emperor's grandson and Ch'ang-yi's son. Calm and deep in his designs, which were clear and thorough, he understood what to do. He grew the timber which was suited to the soil, worked according to the seasons like Heaven, relied on the spirits to determine what was just, directed the elements so as to teach reform, and offered the sacrifices with purity and sincerity." "Northward he went as far as Dark range, southward to the Crossed-Toes,⁵ westward to the Moving sands,⁶ and eastward to Twisted tree.⁷ Creatures animate and inanimate, spirits small and great, and beings, on whom the sun and moon shone, were one and all polite and submissive." Emperor Chuan-hsü had a son called Ch'ung-chan. Chuan-hsü died, and Hsüan-hsiao's grandson

Kao-hsin (High H) reigned. This was emperor K'u.

Emperor K'u or High H was Yellow Emperor's great-grandson. His father was named Chiao-chi (Insect Limit), whose father was called Hsüan-hsiao; Hsüan-hsiao's father was called Yellow Emperor. Neither Hsüan-hsiao nor Insect Limit came to the throne, but High H did obtain the Imperial throne; he was a kinsman of Chuan-hsü. From his birth "High H was a prodigy, and could utter his own name. He distributed his favours everywhere, and did not think of himself. His apprehension was so fine that he knew what was far off, and so clear that he perceived the smallest details.) He followed Heaven's laws, and knew the people's needs. Humane and yet dignified, kind and yet trustworthy, he practised self-culture, and the empire submitted to him. He collected the products of the land, and used them economically. He governed and instructed myriads of people, and they profited by his exhortations. He made a calendar so that he could foretell when the sun and moon rose and set. He understood the spirits, and worshipped them with respect. His appearance was most elegant, and his virtue most eminent. His movements were opportune, and his dress that of a scholar." Emperor K'u was just and impartial throughout the empire. "There was not one on whom the sun and moon shone, or whom the rain and wind touched, who did not submit to him." Emperor K'u married a daughter of Chên-fêng who bore Fang-Hsün (Imitating Merit). He married the daughter of Ch'ützŭ who bore a son Chih (Grasp).

Emperor K'u died, and Grasp reigned in his stead. Emperor Grasp reigned badly, died, and his younger brother Imitating Merit reigned; this was emperor Yao. 3

The emperor Yao, Imitating Merit, "whose 4

goodness was like that of heaven, and whose wisdom was god-like, when near was like the sun, and when far off like a cloud. He was gifted without being proud, and exalted without being insolent. He wore a yellow cap and plain silk dress, and had a red car drawn by a white horse."⁸

"He was able to illustrate and teach virtue ; by being affectionate to the nine degrees of his relations they were all friendly. He discriminated and controlled the people, and they were enlightened and intelligent. He brought into accord the myriad states. He then ordered Hsi and Ho carefully to observe the vast heavens, to calculate the laws relating to the sun, moon, stars, and planets, and carefully to indicate to the people the seasons. He specially commanded the younger brother Hsi to dwell with the Yu barbarians at a place called Valley of the Rising Sun, so as to attentively follow the rising sun, and to distinguish and arrange the duties of spring. The middle day, and the constellation of the 'Bird' quarter served to fix the middle of spring, when the people began to disperse, and birds and beasts nurtured their young. He further commanded the youngest brother Hsi to dwell on the southern frontier, so as to distinguish and arrange the occupations of summer, and carefully bring them to completion. The longest day and the constellation 'Fire' served to fix the middle of summer, when people continued to disperse, and birds and beasts moulted and changed their coats. He further commanded the younger brother Ho to dwell in the western land, at a place called Obscure Valley, so as to carefully follow the setting sun, and to distinguish and arrange the maturing labours of autumn. The middle night and the constellation 'Empty' served to fix the middle of autumn, when the people are at ease and comfortable, and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair renewed. He further commanded the youngest brother Ho to dwell in the northern

region at a place called Dark capital, to determine the time when creatures hibernate. The shortest day and the constellation Mao served to fix the middle of winter, when people keep in their warmest nooks, and the feathers and hair of birds and beasts become quite thick. The year consisted of three hundred and sixty-six days, an intercalary month being inserted to adjust the four seasons. In accordance with this, orders were given to the various officers, and all their labours prospered. Yao said, 'Who is able to manage these matters?' Fang ch'i replied, 'Your son and heir, Tan-chu,⁹ is developing intelligence.' Yao said, 'Oh! he is unprincipled and wicked; he is no use.' Yao said again, 'Who can do it?' Huantou said, 'The Minister of Works has accumulated and displayed his merits everywhere, he might be employed.' Yao said, 'The Minister of Works is a good talker, but when he is at work he is depraved; he seems to be respectful, but contemns heaven; he will not do.' Yao said again, 'Oh! chiefs of the four mountains, the swelling waters of the flood dash against the sky; in their vast extent they surround the mountains and overtop the hills, so the people of the plain are in affliction. Is there any one whom I can direct to restore order?' They all said, 'Kun can do it.' Yao said, 'Kun disobeys my orders and ruins his relations; he will not do.' The chiefs said, 'There is no one else. Try him and, if he is useless, have done with him.' Yao then listened to the chiefs' advice and employed Kun, who laboured for nine years in his service, but without success. Yao said, 'Ah! chiefs of the four mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years; you are able to carry out the divine decree, do you occupy my throne.' The chiefs replied, 'Our virtue is of a low order, we should disgrace the Imperial throne.' Yao said, 'Search for some one to recommend, either a man

of rank or a relation, or even one living at a distance, obscure and unknown.' The whole assembly said to Yao, 'There is an unmarried man of the common people named Shun of Yü.' Yao said, 'Just so! I have heard of him. What is he like?' The chiefs said, 'He is the son of a blind man. His father was unprincipled, his mother insincere, and his younger brother arrogant. He has been able to live in peace with them by his filial piety; they have gradually improved and not been very wicked.' Yao said, 'I will try him!' He then gave him his two daughters in marriage,¹⁰ and observed his behaviour towards them. Shun directed and sent down the two women to the banks of the Kuei and Jui rivers, and they behaved as wives should do."

Yao praised Shun, and then told him "carefully to act in accordance with the five cardinal relationships,¹¹ and they were able to be observed. Shun held various offices in different places, and held them all in turn. He received the guests at the four gates, and those who came to the four gates were profoundly reverent." The princes who came from afar to be received as guests were all respectful. Yao sent Shun "into the mountain forest," to the streams and swamps; "there was a violent wind, thunder and rain," but Shun went on his way "without going astray." Yao considering him to be a holy man, summoned Shun, and "said, 'The plans, which you have made, are perfect, and your words have done good these three years. Do you ascend the Imperial throne.' Shun excused himself on the plea of insufficient virtue, and was not pleased. On the first day of the first month, Shun accepted Yao's abdication in the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor," who was Yao's ancestor in the fifth generation. "Then the emperor Yao being old, commanded that Shun should be his deputy in administering the government of the Son of Heaven," in order to ascertain what was

Heaven's decree. Shun then "examined the jewelled armillary sphere, and the jade transverse, in order to adjust the position of the Seven Directors. He thereupon offered the *lei* sacrifice to the god on high, sacrificed with pure intent to the six honoured ones, offered the *wang* sacrifice to the mountains and rivers, and paid due worship to the host of spirits. He collected the five tokens of rank, chose a lucky month and day to give audience to the chiefs of the four mountains and to the pastors, and distributed among them the tokens. In the second month of the year he went eastward on a tour of inspection ; coming to T'ai-tsung he set fire to a pile of wood, and offered the *wang* sacrifice to the mountains and streams in due order. He then gave audience to the chieftains of the eastern region. He put in accord the seasons and months, and rectified the days ; he made uniform the musical tubes, and the measures of length, capacity, and weight ; he restored the five rites, the five jade tokens, the three pieces of silk, and the two living animals and one dead one¹² which were brought as presents : as for the five instruments,¹³ when all was over they were returned. In the fifth month he went southward on a tour of inspection, similarly in the eighth month he went westward, and in the eleventh month to the north, all these inspections being like the first one. On his return he went to the temples of his grandfather and of his deceased father, to offer the ritual sacrifice of a bull. Every five years he held an inspection of the princes and four audiences at court. They made complete reports in their verbal statements, which were clearly tested by their deeds ; they received chariots and robes for their services. He instituted twelve provinces, and cleared out the watercourses. He made images for the statutory punishments, and employed banishment as a mitigation of the five chief punishments ; the whip was for magistrates, the rod for instructors, while there

was a money penalty for redeemable crimes. Inadvertent offences were pardoned, but those who offended presumptuously and repeatedly were to be punished with death. Be careful! be careful! It is only by punishments that calm reigns" (said he).

Huantou recommended Kung-kung (Minister of Works), Yao said, 'It is impossible,' yet he tried him as foreman; Minister of Works certainly showed himself to be depraved and wicked. The chiefs of the four mountains proposed that Kun should check the inundating waters; Yao thought it was impossible, but at the urgent request of the chiefs of the four mountains, he tried him, though without success, and the people were consequently not at ease. The three Miao tribes frequently rose in rebellion in the Ching province between the Yangtzü and Huai rivers. Then Shun returned and spoke to the emperor requesting that "Minister of Works might be banished to Dark Mound" to reform the northern Ti tribes, that "Huan tou might be exiled to mount Tsung" to reform the Southern Man tribes, "that (the chief of the) Three Miao might be removed to Three Cliffs" to reform the western Jung tribes, and that "Kun might be driven away to mount Wings" to reform the I tribes of the East. "After these four sentences there was universal submission in the empire." Yao had been on the throne seventy years when he secured Shun: and twenty years later, "being old, he directed Shun to administer in his stead the government of the Son of Heaven, and introduced him to Heaven." Yao, after having resigned the throne for fully "twenty-eight years, died, and the people lamented as if they were mourning for father or mother; for three years no music was played anywhere," for they were thinking of Yao. Yao knew that his son "Tanchu was a worthless fellow," and not fit to have the empire entrusted to him; and accordingly, taking the

circumstances into consideration, he gave it over to Shun. In giving it to Shun the empire gained an advantage, and Tanchu suffered loss ; but if he had given it to Tanchu the empire would have suffered loss, and Tanchu gained an advantage. Yao said, " I certainly will not to the detriment of the empire benefit one man." So he definitely gave the empire over to Shun. " After the death of Yao, when the three years mourning was over, Shun (would have) ceded the authority to Tanchu on the south of the southern river. The princes who came to render homage did not go to Tanchu but to Shun ; those who were condemned to gaol, or had lawsuits pending, did not go before Tanchu, but before Shun ; those who recited and sang songs did not sing in praise of Tanchu, but of Shun. Shun said, ' It is from Heaven.' He then returned to the capital, and occupied the throne of the son of Heaven." Such was the emperor Shun.

Shun of Yü had the personal name Ch'ung-hua (Renewed Glory) ; Ch'ung-hua's father was Ku-sou ; Ku-sou's father was Chiao-niu ; Chiao-niu's father was Kou-wang ; Kou-wang's father was Ching-k'ang ; Ching-k'ang's father was Ch'iung-chan ; Ch'iung-chan's father was the Emperor Chuan-hsü ; Chuan-hsü's father was Ch'ang-yi ; up to Shun there were seven generations : from Ch'iung-chan to emperor Shun they were all insignificant and persons of low rank. Shun's father Kusou was blind ; after Shun's mother died he took another wife, who bore a son Hsiang (Image), who was arrogant. Kusou loved the son of his second wife, and constantly tried to kill Shun. Shun avoided him, but when he committed a slight fault he submitted to punishment. He waited obediently on his father, stepmother, and younger brother, and every day he was earnest, attentive, and never negligent. Shun was a native of the province of Chi, he laboured on mount Li, fished on Thunder

lake, made clay pots on the bank of the river, fashioned various articles at Longevity hillock, and went at convenient times to Fu-hsia. His father Kusou was unprincipled, his mother insincere, and his younger brother Image arrogant. They all tried to kill Shun, who was obedient, and never failed in his filial duty or his fraternal love. Although they wished to kill him they could not succeed, and when they tried it they missed their aim. When Shun was twenty years old he was noted for his filial piety, and when he was thirty the emperor Yao asked if he could be employed, and the chiefs of the four mountains all recommended Shun of Yü, saying that he could; Yao then gave Shun both his daughters in marriage in order that he might observe his conduct at home; he sent his nine sons to dwell with him, so that he might observe his conduct to outsiders. Shun lived near the Kuei and Jui rivers, and in his private relations he was thoroughly attentive; Yao's two daughters did not dare in consequence of their high rank to be insolent; they waited on Shun's relations, and were particular in their wifely duties; while Yao's nine sons were all more and more generous. Yao laboured on mount Li,¹⁴ and the men of mount Li all made concessions as to the paths between their fields; when he fished on Thunder lake the men there all made concessions as regards their local claims; when he made clay pots on the banks of the river, his utensils were all without flaws. At the end of a year the place where he lived became a village, in two years it became a town, and in three years a capital.

Yao then bestowed on Shun a robe of fine cloth and a lute, built him a granary and storehouse, and gave him oxen and sheep. Kusou, however, again tried to kill Shun,¹⁵ for he sent him up on the roof of the granary to plaster it, while he set fire to it from below, but Shun made use of two bamboo hats

to protect himself as he descended, and thus escaped with his life. Afterwards Kusou, on another occasion, sent Shun to dig a well, but Shun in digging it formed a secret passage, which was a side exit. When Shun had gone right down, Kusou and Image both threw earth in and filled up the well, but Shun escaped by the secret passage. Kusou and Image rejoiced, supposing that Shun was dead. Image said 'the plot was mine.' He then made a partition with his father and mother, saying, 'Shun's wives, the two daughters of Yao, as well as the lute I will take ; while the oxen, sheep, granary, and storehouse I give up to my father and mother.' Image then settled himself in Shun's house and played on his lute. When Shun went to see him, Image, disconcerted and ill at ease, said, 'I was just thinking of you, and was oppressed with grief.' 'Oh ! no doubt those were your feelings,' replied Shun. Shun then again waited on Kusou, loved his younger brother, and was particularly attentive. Yao then tested Shun with respect to the five relationships, and the several officers were all well governed.

"Formerly, High-Male had eight talented sons," the world benefited by them, and "they were called the eight happy ones. High-H had eight talented sons, and the world called them the eight excellent ones. These sixteen families from generation to generation perfected their good qualities, and did not let their reputations perish. In his reign Yao was unable to put them in office, but Shun promoted the eight happy ones, and caused them to preside over the worship of Sovereign Earth in order to regulate the several occupations ; there was nothing which had not its due season and its order. He placed in office the eight excellent ones, and bade them spread the five precepts in all directions ; for fathers were just, mothers loving, elder brothers kind, younger brothers respectful, and children dutiful ; so

within (the empire) there was peace, and without perfection.

Formerly, emperor Hung had a son devoid of talents, who obscured justice, and was a secret villain, delighting in the practice of the worst vices, so the world called him Chaos. Lesser Brilliant had a son devoid of talents, who destroyed good faith, hated sincerity, and extolled specious and evil talk, so the world called him Extremely-Strange. Chuan-hsü had a son devoid of talents, who could learn nothing, and did not understand what was said to him, so the world called him Blockhead. By these three families people were troubled for generations, until the time of Yao, and even he could not get rid of them. Chin-yün had a son devoid of talents, who was inordinately fond of drinking and eating, and greedy of wealth, so the world called him Glutton. The world hated him, and put him on a par with the three criminals. Shun, going to receive visitors at the four gates, banished these four criminals to the four frontiers in order to keep the hobgoblins in order."¹⁶ Then the four gates were opened, and it was stated that "there were no more wicked men." Shun, "going into the great forest on the mountain, amid violent wind, thunder, and rain, did not go astray." Yao then acknowledged that Shun was worthy to accept the empire, and "being old, bade Shun administer the government of the Son of Heaven," and go on a tour of inspection. After Shun had been raised to office and employed in his service twenty years, Yao bade him rule in his stead; and after he had so ruled eight years, Yao died. "When the three years' mourning was over, Shun would have made way for Tan-chu," but the empire turned to Shun. Now Yü, Kao-yao, Hsieh, Hou-ch'i, Po-yi, K'uei, Lung, Chui, and Pêng-tsu had since the time of Yao been all raised to office, but their functions had not been differentiated. Then "Shun went to the temple of the Accomplished

Ancestor, and deliberated with the chiefs of the four mountains how to open the four gates, so that he could see and hear all that was passing in the four quarters of the empire. He ordered the twelve pastors" to take as a pattern the virtue of the emperor, to practice "real virtue, and to keep artful people at a distance. The Man and I barbarians then vied with each other in being submissive. Shun said to the chiefs of the four mountains, 'Is there any one who will serve me zealously, and perfect Yao's undertakings? I will give him authority to aid me in all affairs.' They all said, 'Earl Yü is superintendent of works; he can perfect the Imperial labours.' Shun said, 'Ah! yes, Yü, you shall regulate the water and the land, but you must exert yourself in this respect.' Yü bowed, and prostrating himself on the ground wished to decline in favour of Millet, Hsieh (Contract), and Kao-yao. Shun said, 'Yes, but go.' Shun said, 'Ch'i (Castaway), the black-haired people, were at first famished; you, Prince Millet, have sown and transplanted the different sorts of grain.' Shun said, 'Contract, the people are not affectionate, and the five classes (of duties) are not observed. Be minister of instruction, and carefully diffuse the five precepts, but do so with gentleness.' Shun said, 'Kao-yao, the Man and I tribes are troubling our glorious land. They are brigands, murderers, villains, and traitors. Be minister of justice. As for the five punishments, some have to undergo them, and for this there are three appointed places; as for the five banishments, there are limits; and with respect to the five limits of distance (for exile), there are three localities. It is only by intelligence that you will inspire confidence. Shun said, 'Who can supervise my workmen?' They all said, 'Chui (Drop) can do it.' He then made Drop minister of works. Shun said, 'Who can supervise my uplands and lowlands,

the grass and trees, birds, and beasts?' They all said, 'Yi (Increase) can do it.' He then made Increase imperial forester. He bowed, prostrated himself, and wished to resign in favour of the ministers Fir, Tiger, Bear, and Grizzly Bear. Shun said, 'Go and act in concert with them.' He then took Fir, Tiger, Bear, and Grizzly Bear as his assistants. "Shun said, 'Ah! chiefs of the four mountains, is there any one who can preside over my three ceremonies?' They all said, 'Earl Yi¹⁷ can do it.' Shun said, 'Ah Earl Yi, I make you director of the ancestral temple. From morning to night you must be attentive, upright, and pure.' Earl Yi wished to resign in favour of K'uei (Monster) and Lung (Dragon), but Shun said, 'Let it be so.' He made Monster director of music, to teach the royal princes to be upright but gentle, indulgent but strong, firm but not cruel, easy mannered but not arrogant. Poetry was the expression of thought; song prolonged that expression; notes accompanied the words; the sounding tubes were in harmony with the notes; the eight kinds of instruments were able to be harmonized, and did not encroach on each other's domains. An accord was thus established between spirits and men. Monster said, 'Ha! I strike the stone, I tap the stone, and the various animals vie with each other in the dance.' Shun said, 'Dragon, I detest slanderous words and destructive lies, which agitate and alarm my people. I order you to act as minister of communication; early and late you will transmit my orders and report thereon to me, but be faithful.' Shun said, 'Ah! you two and twenty men, be attentive, and in these matters you will aid in the service of Heaven.' Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations, degradations and promotions, dismissals and nominations. All the tasks were successfully performed. The people of the three Miao tribes were dispersed."

These twenty-two men all completed their labours. Kao-yao being minister of justice peace reigned, every one was submissive and obtained his deserts. Earl Yi being director of ceremonies, all both high and low made concessions. Drop being director of works, all labourers worked their hardest. Increase being head forester, the hills and swamps were opened up. Castaway being director of agriculture, the various crops were abundant in their seasons. Contract being minister of instruction, the people lived in amity. Dragon being director of guests, visitors from afar came. The twelve pastors being in command, the men of the nine provinces did not dare to disobey ; but Yü's merit was the greatest ; he made cuttings through the nine mountains ; formed the nine lakes ; regulated the courses of the nine rivers ; fixed the limits of the nine provinces, and every one brought the proper tribute without sustaining any disadvantage.

Within an area of five thousand *li* square he reached the uncultivated domain. To the south he subdued the Crossed Toes and Pei fa ; to the west the Jung tribes, Hsi-chih, Chü-sou, and the Ti-chiang ; to the north the hill Jung, Fa, and Hsi-chên ; and to the east the Tall and the Bird barbarians. All within the four seas were grateful for emperor Shun's services. Yü then "performed the music of the nine tunes," strange creatures appeared, and "phœnixes came flying along." The brilliant virtues in the empire all started from the reign of emperor Shun. When Shun was twenty years old, he was noted for his filial piety ; when he was thirty, Yao raised him to office ; when he was fifty, he acted as administrator of the affairs of the son of heaven ; when he was fifty-eight, Yao died ; and when he was sixty-one, he occupied the throne in Yao's stead. After having been on the Imperial throne thirty-nine years he went southward on a tour of inspection, died in the

desert of Ts'ang-wu, and was buried at Nine Doubts hill, south of the river, at a place called Odd Tombs. When Shun had ascended the Imperial throne, he, bearing the standard of the Son of Heaven, went to pay a visit to his father Ku-sou; with great deference and respect, he behaved just as a son should do. He gave a fief to his younger brother Image, and made him a prince. "Shun's son," Shang-chun, "was also worthless," and therefore Shun had previously "presented Yü to Heaven; seventeen years afterwards he died. When the three years' mourning was over, Yü also withdrew from the presence of Shun's son, just as Shun had withdrawn from before Yao's son." The princes gave their allegiance to him, and afterwards Yü ascended the Imperial throne. Yao's son Tanchu and Shun's son Shang-chun both possessed certain territories in order that they might perform the sacrifices to their ancestors; they wore their own dresses, had their own ceremonies and music, and went to the Imperial audiences as guests. The son of Heaven did not treat them as subjects, thus showing that he did not presume to act on his own authority.

From Yellow Emperor to Shun and Yü all the sovereigns had the same family name, but were distinguished by the names of their states, so that they might manifest their illustrious virtue. Thus Yellow Emperor was called Yu-hsiung (Having Bears); emperor Chuan-hsü, High-Male; emperor K'u, High-H;¹⁸ emperor Yao, T'ao-t'ang; emperor Shun, Yu-yü; and emperor Yü, prince of Hsia. But he had another family name, Ssü (sister-in-law). Contract was called Shang, with the family name Son; and Castaway, Chou, with the family name Queen.

The grand historian says, 'Students generally observe that the five gods are the most ancient. Now the 'Book of History' only speaks of Yao and those subsequent to him. Again the writings of the

various schools referring to Yellow Emperor are not canonical teaching; and the literary gentlemen are reluctant to speak of him. What Confucius has handed down, viz. 'Tsai-Yu's questions on the virtues of the Five emperors,' and the 'genealogies and names of the emperors,' certain *literati* do not give any instruction upon. I have been westward to 'Hollow Cave;' northward beyond 'Stricken Deer;' to the east, I have advanced as far as the sea; and southward I have travelled on the Yangtzü and Huai rivers. The notables and elders whom I have addressed have one and all frequently talked of the places where Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun dwelt; their traditions and teachings were certainly diverse, but in a general way those who do not vary from the ancient texts are right. I have examined the 'Spring and Autumn Annals,' and the 'Narratives of the States,' and they make it evident that the 'Virtues of the Five emperors' and the 'Genealogies of the emperors' are brilliant compositions. On reflection, however, I may say, although I have not examined them deeply, that the matters therein set forth are not all without sense. The 'Book of History' is defective, and there are lacunæ, but what has been omitted may occasionally be found in other accounts. Even a man not fond of study or deep thought will, if his mind appreciates the meaning, certainly not say that the accounts have been written by men of shallow views or feeble intelligence. I have collected the several doctrines, and, after arranging and selecting the statements which are the most correct, I have in this way compiled the original records, which stand at the beginning of my book.'

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹ The quotations in the earlier paragraphs of this chapter are from the 'Rites of the elder Tai.' We are told that Yellow Emperor was so called because he "had an auspicious omen of the virtue of the earth." Yellow is the colour which corresponds to the element earth, and to the planet Saturn.

² With respect to Ch'ih yü, the first rebel, an ancient legend has it that he "headed a band of eighty-one brothers, who had bodies of beasts with foreheads of iron, who spoke like men, ate dust, made military weapons, and oppressed the people." No doubt the Hsiung-Nu were in the historian's thoughts, for the name of their chief, Chi-yü, about the year 165 B.C., is somewhat like that of this rebel who fought with Yellow Emperor.

³ 'Hollow Cave' is the name of a mountain in Kansu province, where Yellow Emperor is stated to have studied philosophy from a supernatural being, Kuang-chêngtzu, who according to Chuang-tzŭ XI. 2, 4, gave vent to purely Buddhist doctrines.

⁴ Hsüan-hsiao, Chŭ-tzŭ, and Chih are names of constellations (Uran. Chin. 219, 304, 531), while Ch'ing-yang, Leitsu, Chang-yi, Kao-yang, Kao-hsin, and Ch'ên-fêng are names of places. According to Huang-fu-mi, Ch'ingyang succeeded to the throne under the title of Lesser Brilliant (Shao-hao). It will be observed that Ssuma Ch'ien does not name Shao-hao in his first chapter. He makes Hsüan-hsiao and Ch'ing-yang the same person, and a little further on says that Hsüan-hsiao did not occupy the throne. Hsiao-hao (Small brilliant) is also an astronomical term.

⁵ The country of the Crossed-Toes is Annam, so called because it is pretended that the great toes of the inhabitants cross each other when their feet are placed side by side.

⁶ The "Moving sands" is the usual name for the Gobi desert.

⁷ In the Hill and Sea classic we read that "in the eastern sea there is an island called Tusu, on which there is a large peach tree, which twists and coils about for three thousand *li*. To the north-east there is a door called the spirit-door, where the myriad spirits dwell. The god of heaven sent divine men to guard them; one of them is called Yü-lei, and they pass in review, and govern the myriad spirits. Any spirit who harms a human being is bound with reed withes, shot at with bows made from the peach tree, and thrown to tigers who eat them. The names of Yü-lei and his brother T'u-yu, written on two

squares of paper, are pasted on entrance-doors on the night before the New Year to keep off evil spirits.

⁸ In the account of the reigns of Yao and Shun (the two last of the Five Emperors) Ssūma begins with a quotation from the 'Rites of the Elder Tai,' and then transcribes the whole of the Canons of Yao and Shun, *i.e.* the first and second chapters of the 'Book of History,' except the first paragraphs in each Canon, and intersperses a few sentences from the fifth chapter of 'Mencius,' but he does not even hint that he is quoting from another work, indeed, where there are differences in the texts we might consider his version as given in the 'Historical Records' the original, inasmuch as he wrote before the text of the 'Book of History' was settled.

⁹ Tan-chu is a suspicious name, for it means red cinnabar, which was the basis of the mystical compounds by which the alchemists of our historian's days pretended to be able to produce gold, and confer the gift of immortality.

¹⁰ Yao here speaks of Shun as if he was a stranger, yet Ssūma shows by his genealogy that he is Yao's third cousin four times removed, but it is absolutely opposed to Chinese ideas of propriety for Shun to marry into a distant cousin's family. Mencius, on the other hand, says that Shun belonged to the wild tribes of the East.

¹¹ The five relationships are husband and wife, father and son, prince and subject, elder and younger brother, friend and friend.

¹² The two living animals were the lamb and wild goose, while the dead animal is the pheasant.

¹³ The five instruments are explained in a note to mean the five jade tokens referred to above.

¹⁴ This is an instance of the numerous repetitions which the historian indulges in.

¹⁵ It is strange that Yao, who is said to have been possessed of godlike wisdom, should have allowed these murderous attacks on his cousin Shun to have gone unchecked.

¹⁶ This is a long extract from the 'Tsochuan' (vi. 18, 9), after which the quotation from the Canon of Shun is resumed.

¹⁷ Earl Yi is Po yi. This name and Po yü, written in various ways, occur frequently in Ssūma's Records; they are doubtless derived from Pa yi, an aboriginal tribe in the west of China. Po yi might also be translated Senior-Even. A more famous person of this name combined with Shu-ch'í (Junior-Level) will be met with in the time of King Literary of the Chou dynasty.

¹⁸ We shall find horary characters, especially in the Shang dynasty, frequently used to do duty for the names of sovereigns.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL RECORDS: THE HSIA DYNASTY

YÜ of Hsia was "named Civil Ordinances."¹ Yü's father was called Kun; Kun's father was called emperor Chuan-hsü; Chuan-hsü's father was called Splendid-Idea, and Splendid-Idea's father was called Yellow-Emperor. Yü was, in fact, Yellow-Emperor's great-great-grandson, and emperor Chuan-hsü's grandson.² Neither Yü's great-grandfather Splendid-Idea, nor his father Kun, occupied the Imperial throne, but were ordinary subjects of the emperor.

In the time of emperor Yao "the waters of the flood swelled up to heaven; in their vast extent they surrounded the mountains and overtopped the hills; the people of the plain were consequently in trouble."³ Yao asked for some one able to control the waters. The crowd of officials and chiefs of the four mountains "all said, 'Kun can do it.' Yao said, 'Kun is one who disobeys my orders and ruins his relations, he will not do.' The chiefs of the four mountains said, 'among his equals there is no one wiser than Kun, would your majesty "try him?'" Yao, then, accepting the advice of the chiefs of the four mountains, employed Kun to control the waters. "At the end of nine years" the waters had not abated, and "his labours were unsuccessful."³ Upon this, emperor Yao looked for another man and secured Shun. Shun was promoted to office, and acted as regent in the government of the son of Heaven; he went on

a tour of inspection, and during his journey ascertained that Kun's labours in controlling the waters were not praiseworthy, so "he banished Kun, and kept him on mount Wings" until he died. The whole empire approved Shun's sentence. Shun then promoted Kun's son Yü, and directed him to carry on his father's task. Yao died.

Emperor "Shun questioning the chiefs of the four mountains said, 'Is there any one able to perfect and develop Yao's enterprises? I will place him in charge.' They all said, 'Earl Yü is minister of public works," he can perfect and develop Yao's grand work.' Shun said, 'Ah, yes!' Then, issuing his commands, "he said, 'Yü! you have regulated the water and the land, but in this you must exert yourself.' Yü, prostrating himself with his head to the ground, would have declined in favour of Contract, Prince Millet, or Kao-yao. Shun said, 'Go, and attend to your duties.'" ³

Yü was a man "active, prompt, capable, and diligent; his virtues were prominent, his goodness made him beloved, and his word could be trusted. His voice was the standard of sounds, his body the standard of measures of length, while measures of weight were also derived from him. Most indefatigably and most solemnly he worked out general rules and details." ³

Yü, then, in company with Yi (Increase) and Prince Millet, received the Imperial decree; he gave orders to the princes and to the people to raise a band of men, and by their help "subdivided the lands, went along the mountains, blazed the trees, and determined the position of the high mountains and great rivers." Yü was grieved because his predecessor and father Kun, on account of his labours being unsuccessful, had suffered death; so, wearied in body and distressed in mind, "he lived away from his home for thirteen years, and passed the door of

his house without daring to enter." He was sparing in his clothes and in his food, but was extremely pious as regards the spirits; he had a poor dwelling, but spent much on drains and canals. When travelling on dry land he used a carriage, for going on the water a boat, for going over mud he used a sledge, and for going over the mountains he made use of spiked shoes. "On the one hand he had regular limits, and on the other fixed rules; he took account of the four seasons. In order to open up the nine provinces he cleared the nine roads, banked up the nine marshes, and surveyed the nine mountains."³ "He told Increase to give the people rice," so that it might be planted in low, damp places. "He directed Prince Millet to give the people the food which it was difficult for them to acquire; those who had little food, bartered for it articles of which they had a surplus,"³ and thus an equality was established among the princes.

Yü then proceeded to ascertain what was suited to the soil, so as to fix the tribute as well as the advantages which the mountains and streams offered. Yü commenced his work at the province of Chi.

"Province of Chi. Having worked on Pot's-mouth (mountain), he established order on the Liang and Ch'i hills; having effected repairs at T'ai-yüan, he went to the south of (mount) Yo. At Tan-huai, having been quite successful, he arrived at the Hêng and Chang rivers. The soil there was white and friable and produced revenue which was, on the whole, of the first class, the fields being of the fifth class. The Ch'ang and Wei rivers flowed in their proper channels, and the Talu plain was cultivated. The Bird barbarians,⁴ wearing skin garments, kept close on the right to the granite rocks, jutting into the sea.

The Chi and the Yellow rivers formed the boundaries of the province of Yen. The nine branches

of the Yellow river followed a regular course, and Lei-hsia became a lake; the Yung and Chiu streams were re-united. The mulberry-growing lands were supplied with silkworms; the people could then descend from the heights and dwell in the plains. The soil of this province was black and rich, its herbage luxuriant, and its trees tall. The fields were of the sixth class, and its taxes were just what they ought to be, and after thirteen years they were assimilated to those of other provinces. Its tribute consisted of varnish and silk, and baskets containing woven ornamental tissues. After navigating the Chi and T'a streams, the boats penetrated to the Yellow river.

The sea and the Tai mountain were the boundaries of the province of Ch'ing. The Corner-barbarian⁵ country was demarcated by a dyke. The Wei and Tzū streams followed their regular courses. The soil of the province was white and rich. On the sea-coast there were vast salt tracks," and the fields were impregnated with salt. "Its fields were of the third class, and its taxes of the fourth class. Its tribute consisted of salt, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and products of the sea of various sorts. The valleys of the Tai mountain produced silk, hemp, lead, pines, and strange stones. The Lai barbarians were shepherds, and their baskets contained silk from worms fed on the mountain mulberry. Navigating the Wên stream they penetrated to the Chi river.

The sea, the Tai mountain, and the Huai river were the boundaries of the Hsü province. The Huai and I rivers were regulated. The Mêng and Yu mountains were put under cultivation. Ta-yé lake was confined within its proper limits, and Tung yuan became a cultivated plain. The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. The plants and trees grew more and more thick. Its fields were of the second class, and its taxes of the fifth class. Its tribute consisted of earth of five colours, variegated pheasants

from the Yu mountain valleys, solitary dryandra from the south of (mount) Yi, and musical stones, which (seemed) to float on the banks of the Ssü river. The Huai barbarians brought oyster-pearls and fish; their baskets contained dark embroideries, fine silks, and white silks. Navigating the Huai and Ssü rivers, they penetrated to the Yellow river.

The Huai river and the sea were the boundaries of the Yang province. The P'êng-li lake was confined within its proper limits, and the sun birds (*i.e.* wild geese) dwelt there. The three large rivers entered the sea; the agitated lake became calm; bamboos, large and small, grew everywhere, the grasses were long and thin, the trees lofty, and the soil miry. The fields were of the ninth class and the taxes were of the seventh and sometimes of the sixth class. The tribute consisted of three kinds of metal, jasper, *chiin*, precious stones, large and small bamboos, ivory, hides, feathers, and yaks'-tails; the island barbarians brought garments made of vegetable fibre. Their baskets contained woven silks and cowries, and their bundles were filled with small oranges and pomeloes, the tribute being rendered when required. Going down the river and along the coast they came to the Huai and Ssü rivers.

(Mount) Ching and the south of (mount) Hêng formed the boundaries of the Ching province. The Great river and the Han river paid their court to the sea; the nine rivers were just in the middle of the country. The T'o and Chien rivers followed a regular course. The Yün-mêng territory was properly cultivated. The soil of the province was thick and miry. Its fields were of the eighth class, and its taxes of the third class. Its tribute consisted of feathers, yaks' tails, ivory, hides, three kinds of metals, woods of the wild varnish, *cudrania-triloba*, juniper, and cypress trees, grindstones, whetstones, arrowhead stones, and cinnabar, also bamboos of the

chiin and *lu* species, and red-thorn wood, of which the three principalities sent the most noted specimens as tribute. They wrapped up the three-ribbed rush after packing it in cases. Their baskets contained dark blue and red silks with strings of coarse pearls. They brought from the land of the nine rivers great tortoises as special presents. After navigating the Yangtzü, the T'ò, the Ch'ên, and the Han rivers, and crossing over the country to the Lo river one reaches the southern portion of the Yellow river.

(Mount) Ching and the Yellow river were the boundaries of the Yu province. The I, the Lo, the Ch'ên, and Chien streams flowed into the Yellow river. The overflow from the Yung lake was confined within proper limits, and the water of the Ko marsh was connected with the (lake) Mingtu. The soil was friable, and in its lower parts partly rich and partly poor. Its fields were of the fourth class, and the taxes varied between the first and second classes. Its tribute consisted of varnish, silk, fine dolichos cloth, and sackcloth; the baskets were filled with silk having black woof and white warp, and silk waste. Stones for polishing the musical stones were brought as tribute when required. After navigating the Lo river, one reaches the Yellow river.

The south of Mount Hua and the Blackwater were the boundaries of the Liang province. The Min and Po mountains were brought under cultivation. The T'ò and Ch'ên rivers flowed in their regular courses. To the T'sai and Mêng hills sacrifices were offered on the regulation of the country. The country of the barbarians of the Ho river was successfully operated on. The soil of the province was bluish black. Its fields were of the seventh class, and the taxes varied between the seventh and ninth classes. Its tribute consisted of jade stones, iron, silver, steel, stones for arrowheads and musical stones, with skins of common bears, grizzly bears, foxes, wild cats, and

cloth made from their hair. From (mount) Hsi-ching one comes along the Huan river, navigates the Ch'ien river, then making a portage to the Mien river, enters the Wei river, and ferries over the Yellow river.

The Black water and the western bend of the Yellow river were the boundaries of the Yung province. The Jo river flowed westward. The Ching river was led to form a junction with the Wei; the Ch'i and Chiu rivers did the same, and thither also did the Fêng river flow. The Ching and Ch'i hills were sacrificed to as well as the Chungnan and Tun-wu hills right up to Bird-and-Rat hill. Works were successfully carried out on the plains and swamps as far as Tu-yeh. The Three Cliff country was regulated, and general order was established among the three Miao tribes. The soil of the province was yellow and friable. Its fields were of the first class, and the taxes were of the sixth class. Its tribute was jade, chrysoprase, and white coral. The bearers came by water from 'Piled-stones' (mountain) to Dragon-gate (hill), on the western branch of the Yellow river, and met others at the confluence of the Wei river. The Kunlun, who brought haircloth and furs, the Hsichih, Ch'ü-sou, and the Western Jung tribes all came in due order.

Routes. The nine ranges of mountains. Ch'ien and Ch'i hills to mount Ching; on the other side of the Yellow river, Pot's mouth and Thunder-head hills to the Great mountain; the Tichu and Hsi-chêng hills to the King's-House hill; the Tai-hang and Ch'ang mountains to the Granite rocks, which jut into the sea; the Hsi-ch'ing, Chu-yu, and Bird-and-Rat hills to mount T'ai-hua; the Bear's-ear, Wai-fang, and T'ung-po hills to mount P'ei-wei; route from mount Po-chung to mount Ching; Neifang hill to Ta-pié hill; southward of mount Min to mount Hêng, then across the nine rivers to the Fu-chien plain.

Routes of the nine watercourses; the Jo river goes to mount Ho-li; and its surplus waters flow into the moving sands; route, the Black river goes to the 'Three-Cliffs,' and enters the southern sea; route, the Yellow river from 'Piled-Stones' (mount) to 'Dragon-Gate' (hill). To the south it goes to the north of mount Hua; to the east it flows to (mount) Ti-chu; further to the east to the ford of Mêng; again eastward it passes its confluence with the Lo river, and flows to Ta-p'ei; to the north past the Chiang river to the Ta-lu (lake); the north stream is divided into nine rivers, which, reunited, form the 'Opposing river,' and then enters the sea.

The Po-chung route. The Yang river flows to the east and becomes the Han; further to the east it becomes the T'sang-lang river, whence, passing the three dykes it enters Ta-pié; to the south it enters the Great river. To the east the Hui marsh becomes the Pêng-li (lake); more to the east it becomes the northern Great river and enters the sea.

The Min mountain route. The Great river to the east has a separate branch called the T'ò. Further to the east it reaches the Li; it passes the nine rivers and comes to the eastern tombs. More to the east it bends to the north, and joins the Hui (lake); still more to the east it becomes the Middle river and flows into the sea.

Route. The Yen river to the east becomes the Chi, falls into the Yellow river, and the full stream becomes the Yung; again eastward it issues forth to the north of T'ao-ch'iu, more to the east it comes to the Ko (marsh); still more to the north-east it joins the Wên river, and still further to the north-east it enters the sea.

Route. The Huai river starting from (mount) T'ung-po to the east joins the Ssü and I rivers, and (again) to the east flows into the sea.

Route. The Wei (river), starting from 'Bird-and-Rat-in-same-Hole' (hill) to the east joins the Fêng (river), more to the north-east it flows into the Ching (river); and still more to the east, passing the Ch'i and Chiu (rivers), flows into the Yellow river.

Route. The Lo river, coming from Bear's-Ear mount to the north-east, meets the Chien and Ch'ên; further to the east it joins the I river, and to the north-east it flows into the Yellow river.

Thus the nine provinces were treated in a similar manner: in all four directions the low lands were made habitable; on the nine hills trees were notched and sacrifices were offered, the nine watercourses were scoured up to their sources, the nine lakes were embanked; all within the four seas were united, and the six treasuries⁶ of nature were in perfect order. The several lands were exactly compared, and care was taken that the taxes should be proportionate to the products. In all cases the tax was fixed with reference to the three characters of the soil.

In the Middle Kingdom (the emperor) bestowed lands and clan-names. 'Reverently (said he), take my virtues as a guide, and do not deviate from my line of conduct.' He gave the following directions for the kingdom of the Son of Heaven and for the states beyond: "Five hundred *li* constituted the Imperial domain. From the first hundred *li* they brought as revenue the entire stalk; from the second hundred *li* the ears of grain; from the third hundred *li* the straw only, but other service had to be performed; from the fourth hundred *li* the grain in the husk; and from the fifth hundred *li* the grain cleaned." Beyond the Imperial domain, "for a distance of five hundred *li* there was the domain of the nobles. The first hundred *li* was occupied by the Ministers of State, the second hundred by those holding public offices, and the other three hundred by the several princes." Beyond the nobles' domain

“for a distance of five hundred *li* there lay the domain of peace. For the first three hundred *li* they took into consideration civil instruction, and in the other two hundred they devoted their energies to war and defence.” Beyond the domain of peace “for a distance of five hundred *li* there was the domain of restraint. In the first three hundred *li* were the I barbarians, and in the other two hundred were exiles.” Beyond the domain of restraint “for a distance of five hundred *li* there was the wild domain. The first three hundred *li* were occupied by the Man barbarians and the other two hundred by vagrants.

On the east reaching to the sea, on the west extending to the moving sands, to the utmost limits of north and south, (Yü's) fame and precepts penetrated to the four seas. Then the emperor presented Yü with a dark jade sceptre, so as to announce to the world the completion of his work.”⁷ The world was then at peace and properly governed.

Kaoyao was the minister appointed to control the people. Emperor Shun held an audience ; Yü, Earl Yi, and Kaoyao talked in turn in the emperor's presence.

“Kaoyao,” setting forth his “counsels said, ‘When (the ruler) is sincere with respect to the path of duty and virtue, counsels will be intelligent, and assistance cordial.’ Yü said, ‘Quite so ; but how?’ Kaoyao said, ‘Oh ! if he is careful as to his own good conduct, his ideas will be enduring ; he will be liberal and observe the rank among the nine classes of his kindred ; all intelligent men will be the wings on which he will raise himself ; and from what is near he will reach in this way what is far off.’ Yü, saluting, praised this language, and said, ‘That is so.’ Kaoyao said, ‘Oh ! It consists in knowing men, and keep quiet the people.’ Yü said, ‘Ah ! but to do both exactly proved difficult even for the emperor. He who

knows men is wise, and can put the right men into office. He who keeps the people quiet is kind, and the black-haired race love him, and being thus wise and kind, why should he be troubled about Huan-tou? and what need to banish the chief of the Miao tribes? Why should he fear an artful man with specious words and smooth exterior?’

Kaoyao said, ‘Oh, well! if on the one hand there are nine virtues in a man’s conduct; on the other hand, when speaking of these virtues we say that he does such and such actions. He is indulgent but stern, gentle but firm, blunt but respectful, able to govern but cautious, submissive but resolute, straightforward but genial, easy-going but discriminating, rigid but genuine, determined but just. He who displays these qualities and that permanently is a good man. He who manifests three of these virtues daily from morning till night is careful and intelligent, and will be at the head of a house. He who daily practises strictly and with reverence six of these virtues is a faithful servitor, and will be at the head of a kingdom. If such men are collected together in the administration, the possessors of nine virtues will all be employed; men of a thousand, and men of a hundred will hold office; the several officials” will be respectful and diligent; and they will not teach vicious, or cunning schemes; if there are not such men occupying the public offices such a state of things may be called the confusion of Heaven’s affairs.

“‘Heaven punishes the guilty; the five punishments have their five applications. Can my words in the end be put into practice?’ Yü said, ‘Your words are perfect, and may be successfully put into practice.’ Kaoyao said, ‘For my part, I know nothing; but I have a desire to help people to walk in the right way.’ ‘Emperor’ Shun addressing Yü said, ‘You also should talk brilliantly.’ Yü bowed and

said, 'Ah! what can I say? I just think of working incessantly every day.' Kaoyao," vexing Yü, "said, 'What do you mean by working incessantly?' Yü said, 'When the waters of the flood swelled up to the heavens, and in their vast extent encompassed the mountains and submerged the hills, the people of the plain were all overwhelmed by the waters. I travelled" by land in a carriage, by water in a boat; in miry places I used a sledge, and over the hills I used spikes. "Going over the hills I notched the trees. In company with Increase, I gave the people rice and fresh food. In opening the channels of the nine rivers, I caused them to flow into the four seas; I deepened the one-foot and the sixteen-foot canals, and conducted them to the rivers. In company with 'Millet,' I supplied the multitudes with food, which it was difficult to obtain, and those who had little food exchanged those things of which they had too much to make up for what they were in want of; I shifted the habitations, the people were then settled, and the myriad states well governed.' Kaoyao said, 'Yes, that was excellent.' Yü said, 'Ah, your majesty! be careful how you occupy the throne; be quiet in your behaviour; let your assistants be virtuous, and the empire will respond grandly to your pure desires. It will thus be clear that you have received the mandate of the God on high, and heaven renewing its mandate will confer blessings on you.'

The emperor said, 'Ah! ministers, ministers! you are my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. If I wish to help and support my people you aid me. If I wish to observe the figures of the ancients, the sun, moon, and stars, which are painted or embroidered on the robes, you distinguish them. If I wish to hear the six pitchpipes, the five notes, and the eight musical instruments, and to examine the virtues and defects of government by the court odes and popular ballads based on the five notes, you listen to them for me.

If I make mistakes it is for you to correct and withstand me, not to flatter me to my face and criticise me behind my back. Be careful you, my four attendant ministers." However numerous be the slanderers and pampered menials, if the sovereign's virtue is sincerely manifested all will be pure.' "Yü said, 'Quite so, but if the emperor does not act thus,' and treats good and bad alike, he will be "without merit."'

The emperor said, "Do not be arrogant, like Chu of Tan, who was fond only of indolence and dissipation, wished to go in a boat when there was no water, gave himself up to incestuous conduct in his own family, and thus put an end to his line." I could not behave like that.'

Yu said, "'On the days H and J, I married a woman of the family T'ushan, and on the days K A she gave birth to Ch'i. I did not treat him as a son, and was therefore able to complete my labours on water and land. I assisted in establishing the five domains, and travelled over five thousand *li*. In the provinces there were twelve governors, and in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, I appointed altogether five chiefs. Each of those, who did his duty, was meritorious but the Miao tribes, who were stupid, had no merits. Think of that your Majesty.'

The emperor said, 'If you follow my virtue, your merits will appear in due order.'"

Kaoyao then had respect for Yü's virtue, and told all the people to take him as their pattern, and those who did not do as they were told he prosecuted and punished.

Shun's virtue was very brilliant. "Then K'uei" played music; "the spirits of the ancestors arrived; all the nobles gave place to one another, the birds fluttered about, and the beasts danced. When the nine airs of the Hsiao-chao were played, the phœnixes

moved about gracefully, the various beasts led each other on to dance, and the several officials were truly in accord.

The emperor profiting by this composed the following ode, 'He who is advanced by Heaven's appointment should be careful every moment, and in the smallest particular.' He then sang as follows: 'When the legs and arms move joyfully, the head, being chief, is lifted up, and the various functions are splendidly discharged.' Kaoyao bowed, with his head to his hands, and then prostrating himself to the ground, with a loud voice said, 'Consider. The example which you set makes everything flourish; pay attention to the laws, be careful.' Then, continuing his song, he said, 'If the head, being chief, is intelligent, the legs and arms are good, and everything prospers.' Shun sang again as follows: 'When the head, as chief, is concerned with petty details, the legs and arms are idle, and everything goes to ruin.' The emperor bowed, and said, 'Well, go and be attentive.'"⁸ Then the whole empire adopted the measures, numbers, notes, and music which Yü had defined; he presided over the worship of the gods of the mountains and streams.

"The emperor Shun presented Yü to Heaven" as his heir, and "seventeen years later the emperor Shun died. When the three years' mourning was over Yü refused to rule, and retired before Shun's son, Shang-chün, to south town." The princes of the empire all left Shang-chün and paid homage to Yü. Thereupon Yü occupied the throne of the son of Heaven, and turning to the south gave audience to the empire. His dynastic title was lord of Hsia, and his family name was Ssü. After the emperor Yü had ascended the throne, he promoted Kao-yao, and presented him (to Heaven); he would have handed over to him the government, but Kao-yao died. He conferred on the descendants of

Kao-yao the fiefs of Ying and Liu; one of them lived at Hsü.

The sovereign then promoted Increase, and entrusted him with the government; ten years afterwards the emperor Yü went eastward on a tour of inspection; came to Kuei-chi and died. He had handed over the empire to Increase, "but when the three years' mourning was over, Increase resigned in favour of Yü's son Ch'i (Open), and, retiring, dwelt on the south of mount Chi."⁹

Yü's son, Open, was wise, and the inclinations of the empire were fixed on him, and when Yü died, although the rule had been entrusted to Increase, he having only aided Yü a few days, the empire was not pleased with him. The princes, therefore, all left Increase and paid homage to Open, saying, "Our sovereign! he is the son of emperor Yü."¹⁰ Then Open duly occupied the throne of the son of Heaven; this was emperor Open, lord of Hsia.

The emperor Open, lord of Hsia, was the son of Yü, his mother being a daughter of the family T'ushan.

As the prince of Hu would not submit, Open attacked him, and "there was a great battle at Kan." Before the engagement, Open made "the proclamation at Kan. Calling his six high officials, Open," explaining the case, "said, 'Ah! men of my six armies, I have a solemn proclamation to make to you. The prince of Hu contemptuously despises the five elements; he neglects and abandons the three principals. Heaven will therefore destroy him, and abrogate its mandate; and I am now only with respect executing Heaven's punishments. If you left-side men do not do your work on the left, and if you right-side men do not do your work on the right, you will not be respecting my orders. If you charioteers do not properly direct your horses, you will not be respecting my orders. Those who carry

out my orders, I will reward before the ancestral tablet; those who do not obey my orders, I will put to death before the spirits of the land. I will certainly slay you as well as your children."¹¹

He then utterly destroyed the prince of Hu, and the whole empire did homage to the sovereign of Hsia. Emperor Open died, and his son, emperor Prosperous the First, came to the throne. Emperor "Prosperous the First lost his kingdom; his five brothers waited for him at the confluence of the Lo river and composed the songs of the five sons."¹² Prosperous the First died, and his younger brother, Prosperous the Second, came to the throne; this was emperor Prosperous the Second. In the time of the emperor Prosperous the Second, "Hsi and Ho indulged in wine and dissipation, neglected the seasons, and let the days get into confusion. Yin went to punish them, and the 'punitive expedition of Yin' was composed."¹³ Prosperous the Second died, and his son, emperor Counsellor,¹⁴ came to the throne. He died, and his son, emperor Prosperous the Third, came to the throne. He died, and his son, emperor Shuttle, came to the throne. He died, and his son, emperor Grain, came to the throne. He died, and his son, emperor Leak, came to the throne. He died, and his son, emperor Not-Descend came to the throne. He died, and his younger brother, emperor Door-Bar, came to the throne. He died, and his son, Emperor Hovel, came to the throne. He died, and they put on the throne Cave-A,¹⁵ son of the emperor Not-Descend; this was emperor Cave-A. When emperor Cave-A was on the throne he was fond of inquiring into matters concerning demons and spirits, and indulged in dissipation. The virtue of the dynasty of the lord of Hsia degenerated, and the princes rebelled.

Heaven caused two dragons to come down, a female and a male; Cave-A could not feed them

for he had not Dragon-Keeper. After the decline of (the family of) T'ao-t'ang, one of his descendants, Liu-lei, learnt how to tame dragons from Dragon-Keeper, and so he entered the service of Cave-A, who gave him the family name of Dragon-Director, and his descendants were the Shih-wei¹⁶ (pig-sty). The female dragon having died, he served it up for the lord of Hsia's dinner; but the latter, having sent some one to look for it, he became frightened and ran away.

Cave-A died, and his son, emperor Marsh, came to the throne. He died, and his son, emperor Shoot, came to the throne. He died, and his son, emperor Shoe-K, came to the throne. This was Tyrant.

In the time of emperor Tyrant the princes who had begun to rebel in the reign of Cave-A revolted more and more. Tyrant of Hsia did not apply himself to virtue, but through his wars injured the people, who were unable to bear him. Then he sent for T'ang and imprisoned him in the tower of Hsia, but eventually released him. T'ang practised virtue, and all the princes went over to him. He accordingly placed himself at the head of an army in order to chasten Tyrant of Hsia, who escaped to Ming-t'iao, but was afterwards exiled and died. Tyrant said to his men: 'I regret that I did not at once kill T'ang in the tower of Hsia, for he has brought me to this.' T'ang then occupied the throne of the son of Heaven, and in place of (the sovereign of) Hsia gave audience to the empire. T'ang enfeoffed the descendants of the Hsias, who under the Chou dynasty were given the fief of Ch'i.

The grand historian says: 'Yü had as his family name Ssü; his descendants were distinguished by their fiefs, and took the name of their kingdoms as family names, so there were the families of Lord-of-Hsia, Hu, Nan, Chên-hsün, T'ung-Ch'êng, Pao, Fei, Ch'i,

Tsêng, Hsin, Ming, Chên, and Ko. Confucius corrected the 'Seasons of Hsia,' and many scholars have handed down to posterity the 'Small Calendar of Hsia.' From the period of Yü (Shun) and the Hsias the tribute and taxes were organized. It is said that Yü, after having assembled the princes to the south of the Great River to count up their services, died and was buried. The name of the place was Kuei-chi, for this means 'to assemble' and 'count up.'

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹ Except for these three words there is no quotation in the 'Historical Records' from the third chapter of the 'Book of History' styled 'The Counsels of the Great Yü.'

² Yü is stated to be the grandson of Chuan-hsü, yet Shun, whom he succeeded on the throne, is, as we saw in the last chapter, seven generations from Chuan-hsü.

³ Passages from the 'Canon of Yao' and 'Canon of Shun' are quoted here, and then follow a few sentences from the 'Rites of the Elder Tai,' and the 'Yi and Chi.'

⁴ The Bird barbarians, a commentator observes, were the Mohos or Manchus, who ate the flesh of birds and beasts, and clothed themselves in their skins, lived in holes underground in consequence of the extreme rigour of the climate, smeared themselves with pork fat, used bows four feet long and arrows one foot eight inches in length, tipped with stone, piled hundreds of dead pigs on their coffins at funerals, bound their coffins with cords, and poured libations of spirit on the end protruding from the ground until the cords became rotten.

⁵ The 'Corner-barbarian' country refers to Shantung and the country west of the Liao river bend.

⁶ Stated by a native commentator to be water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and crops.

⁷ The sixth chapter of the 'Book of History,' or the 'Tribute of Yü,' is transcribed from beginning to end. This is a geographical description of the empire. The name 'Tribute of Yü,' or Yü-Kung, gives an insufficient account of the contents of the chapter. The characters reversed read Kung-yü, and this is the name of one of Ssüma Ch'ien's contemporaries. The name of another is to be found in Hsia-hou, (lord of Hsia) applied to

the great Yü as his dynastic title. It is absurd to suppose, as Dr. Legge remarks, that any one man could have journeyed over the provinces described in the Tribute of Yü, although it is stated in the 'Historical Records' that Yü was thirteen years away from his home, while in the 'Book of Mencius' the time given is eight years.

⁸ Most of the 'Counsels of Kaoyao,' or fourth chapter of the Book of History, is here transcribed; and it is followed by the fifth chapter, named 'Yi and Chi,' although the text of both is in many respects different from that of the 'Book of History.'

⁹ A few sentences from Mencius V. 1, 6, are here introduced, but in the text of the latter we have "north of Mount Chi." This word Chi means winnowing tray, and is the name of the seventh asterism ($\gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \beta$) in Sagittarius.

¹⁰ Here again we find a similar sentence in Mencius. Yi's resignation of his position after the three years' mourning for Yü is accepted, and in that respect differs from Shun's and Yü's resignations.

¹¹ The seventh chapter of the 'Book of History' styled 'Speech at Kan,' is here transcribed in full. It is very like Yü's speech when he attacked the San-miao, as given in the 'Counsels of Yü.' The three principals are heaven, earth, and mankind.

¹² For the reign of the third emperor we have simply a sentence from the preface to the 'Book of History.' The 'songs of the five sons' are contained in the eighth chapter of the 'Book of History.' The third song, with the addition of a line, is quoted in the Tso-chuan, under date B.C. 488. As to the names of the three K'ang, or Prosperous 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, we find that K'ang stands for the second of the twenty-eight asterisms, and answers to the stars $\iota, \kappa, \lambda, \mu$ in the constellation Virgo.

¹³ A quotation from the preface to the 'Book of History' does duty for the reign of the fourth emperor, viz. Prosperous 2nd. The 'punitive expedition of Yin' here referred to constitutes the ninth chapter of the 'Book of History.' It is a curious coincidence that Hsi and Ho were also the astronomers of Yao's reign two hundred years previously. The crime was not reporting an eclipse of the sun.

¹⁴ Counsellor is the name of a red star which answers to 73 of Flamsteed between the stars δ, ϵ of the Great Bear (see Uran. Chin. p. 528). After the reign of the fifth emperor Counsellor, there should, according to the Tsochuan and other authorities, be an interregnum of forty years, when the throne was occupied by two usurpers.

¹⁵ The name of this as well as the name of the last emperor is composed of a horary character. According to the 'General

Mirror of History,' scenes of the wildest extravagance and debauchery occurred during the reign of the last Emperor of the Hsia dynasty.

¹⁶ Shih-wei is the name of a Tungusic tribe akin to the Kitans, who came from the region of the Onon-kerulon (*China Review*, xxv. p. 170) but the first syllable of the characters, usually employed to write the name, means 'house,' and not 'pig.'

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL RECORDS: THE YIN DYNASTY

THE mother of Hsieh (Contract), of the Yin Dynasty, was called Chien-Ti (Impetuous Northern Barbarian). She was the daughter of the prince of Sung,¹ and secondary wife of the emperor K'u.² As she was going with two other persons to bathe she saw a dark bird drop an egg; she picked it up and swallowed it, whereupon she was with child, and gave birth to Contract, who on growing up assisted Yü to control the waters, and acquired merit thereby.

The emperor Shun then gave Contract the following order: "The people are not affectionate, and the five classes of duties are not observed. Do you be minister of instruction, and carefully diffuse the five precepts." The five precepts (have their origin) "in gentleness."³

He was enfeoffed with the principality of Shang, and was given the family name 'Son.' Contract flourished in the time of T'ang (Yao), Yü (Shun), and the great Yü. His merits and his occupations were made manifest to the people, and they were consequently at peace. Contract died, and his son, Shining-Bright, came to the throne. He died, and his son,⁴ Inspect-Land, came to the throne. He died, and his son, Splendid-Like, came to the throne. He died, and his son, Cattle-Yard, came to the throne. He died and his son, Hades, came

to the throne. He died, and his son, Excite, came to the throne. He died, and his son, Tiny, came to the throne. He died, and his son, Report-D,⁵ came to the throne. He died, and his son, Report-B, came to the throne. He died, and his son, Report-G, came to the throne. He died, and his son, Lord-J, came to the throne. He died, and his son, Lord-K, came to the throne. He died, and his son, Heavenly-B, came to the throne; this was T'ang the Successful.

Reign of T'ang the Successful. "There had been from Contract to T'ang eight changes (of capital). T'ang at first dwelt at Po, where the ancient kings resided. The 'Announcement to the emperor' was written. When T'ang chastised the princes, as the Earl of Ko did not offer the sacrifices, T'ang commenced by attacking him."⁶ Tang said, 'I have a remark to make. Men look at water to see their reflections, and at the people to see if they are well governed or not.' Iyin said, 'Wisdom! If these words could be hearkened to, the path of duty would be not far off. The sovereign of a state treats his people as his children; excellence rests entirely with the king and his ministers. Be energetic! Be energetic!' T'ang said, 'If you will not respect my orders, I will severely punish and put you to death; "not one shall be pardoned." "The punitive expedition of T'ang was written."⁶

Iyin's personal name was A-hêng (Reliance on equity). A-hêng wished to be introduced to T'ang, but not having the opportunity, became servant to a lady's-maid of the daughter of the prince of Yu-Hsin, and carried pots and dishes.⁷ He discoursed to T'ang on relishes, and eventually on the royal road (to virtue). Another tradition has it that Iyin was living as a private gentleman, when T'ang sent messengers to look for him and offer him presents. They went back five times, and at length he consented to come.

When he was in T'ang's suite he talked about the plain king and the nine lords.⁸ T'ang promoted him to a post in order that the state might be properly governed.

"Iyin left T'ang and went to the court of Hsia. Being angry with the king of Hsia he returned to Po. He entered by the north gate, met Ju-chiu and Ju-fang, and wrote the 'Ju-chiu and Ju-fang.'"⁹ T'ang, having gone out on the plain, saw nets spread on all four sides with an invocation as follows: 'May everything from the four quarters of the globe enter my net.' T'ang said, 'Oh! that is every single one.' He then removed the nets on three sides, with this aspiration: 'If you wish to go to the left, go left; if you would go to the right, go right; but let those who do not want to live enter my net.' The princes hearing of this, said, 'T'ang's virtue is complete, and extends even to birds and beasts.'

At this time Tyrant of the Hsia dynasty was cruel, his government was profligate and depraved, and at the same time K'un-wu,¹⁰ one of the princes, rebelled. T'ang then levied an army, and put himself at the head of the princes. I-yin followed T'ang, who seized a battle-axe to attack K'un-wu, and afterwards to chastise Tyrant.

T'ang said, "Approach, ye multitudes; come, listen all of you to my words. It is not I, a little child, who dares to undertake to raise a rebellion. The ruler of Hsia has committed many crimes. I have indeed heard you, the multitude, say Hsia is guilty; and as I fear the god on high, I dare not refuse to correct (him). Now Hsia is very guilty, and Heaven orders that he should be put to death. Now you crowds, you are saying, 'Our sovereign has no pity for us, the multitude; he stops our harvest labours, and governs with cruelty.' There are some of you who say, 'As for his crimes, what remedy have we?' The king of Hsia is the leader of those

who check the energy of the masses, and the chief of those who plunder the kingdom of Hsia. His people are for the most part idle, and are not in accord with him. They say, 'When this sun dies, I and you, we will all perish together.' The behaviour of Hsia being such, I am bound to go. You will, I trust, unite with me, the one man, in executing Heaven's chastisement. I will then largely reward you. Do not disbelieve me, for I will not eat my words. If you do not obey what I say in this proclamation, I will put you and your children to death; there will be no forgiveness." In this proclamation he gave directions to his soldiers, and "the proclamation of T'ang was written."¹¹

T'ang then said, "I am very warlike, so my title shall be the warlike king."¹² Tyrant was defeated on the waste land of Yu-sung, and fled to Ming-t'iao (whistle-branch).

"The troops of Hsia being entirely defeated, T'ang then attacked San-tsung, capturing the precious stones and guns there. Earl Justice and Earl Second wrote the 'Statutes and Jewels.' When T'ang had overcome Hsia, he wished to remove the altars to the spirits of the land, but could not do so. The 'Spirits of the Land of Hsia' was written."¹³

I-yin made a statement, and the princes were thereupon satisfied. T'ang then occupied the throne of the son of Heaven, and subdued the country within the seas.

"When T'ang returned, he came to T'ai-chüan potteries, and Chung-lei wrote his 'Announcement.' When he had made an end of the sovereignty of Hsia, T'ang returned to Po, and wrote 'T'ang's Announcement.'¹³

It was the third month when the king came himself to the eastern suburb, and made the following proclamation to the princes and all the lords:—"Fail not to labour for the people, and diligently perform

your duties, or I will severely punish you, and put you to death; do not murmur against me.' He also said, 'Formerly Yü and Kaoyao toiled long in distant lands; they laboured for the people, who were then at peace. To the east was the great river, to the north the Chi, to the west the Yellow river, and to the south the Huai. These four waterways were kept in order, and all the people were housed. Prince Millet taught them how to sow, cultivate, and increase the several sorts of grain. These three chiefs all laboured for the people, and their descendants were therefore raised to power. In former days Ch'ih-yu with his great men raised a rebellion among the people, but the emperor did not approve, and an accusation was brought against him. The ancient kings said, 'It will not do not to exert yourself.' (T'ang) said, 'If you do not act rightly, you will not remain in your kingdoms. Do not murmur against me.' With these words he gave orders to the princes.

"I-yin wrote, 'Both possessed the same virtue.'"
"Kaoshan wrote, 'Light in the dwelling.'" ¹⁴

T'ang then altered the month which commenced the year, and the first day of the year; changed the colour of the robes, giving preference to white, and held his audiences at noon. "T'ang died." ¹⁵

The heir apparent, "Great-D died before he could come to the throne," so they put on the throne Great-D's younger brother, "Outer-C;" this was emperor Outer-C, who, after a reign of "three years," ¹⁶ died.

Outer C's younger brother, Middle-J, came to the throne; this was emperor 'Middle-J,' who, having reigned "four years," ¹⁵ died.

I-yin then placed on the throne Great-D's son, Great-A, who was the eldest legitimate grandson of T'ang the Successful; this was the emperor Great-A. "In the first year of emperor Great-A, I-yin wrote the 'Instructions of I,' the 'Declaration of Heaven's

decree,' and the 'Deceased prince.' After emperor Great-A had reigned" three years, "he proved unintelligent" and cruel; he did not follow T'ang's rules, and his conduct was disorderly. "I-yin therefore banished him to the Dryandra palace." For three years I-yin acted as regent; governed the kingdom, and so gave audience to the princes. After emperor Great-A had dwelt in the Dryandra palace "three years, he repented of his errors, blamed himself, and became virtuous again." Whereupon I-yin went to meet emperor Great-A, and handed over to him the government. Emperor Great-A cultivated virtue, the princes all "returned to the Yin capital," and the people were at peace. I-yin praised him, and then "wrote the 'Instructions to Great-A' in three parts."¹⁶ Emperor Great-A was honoured with the title of Great Ancestor.

At Great Ancestor's death his son, Sleek-D, came to the throne. In the reign of emperor "Sleek D," I-yin died. "When I-yin was buried at Po, Kaoshan set forth as an example the services of I-yin, and wrote the 'Sleek-D.'"¹⁷

At Sleek-D's death his younger brother Great-G came to the throne; this was the emperor Great-G.

At his death his son emperor Little-A came to the throne.

At his death his younger brother Harmony-F came to the throne; this was the emperor Harmony-F. The conduct of the Yins became corrupt; and some of the princes did not come (to court).

At emperor Harmony-F's death his younger brother Great-E came to the throne; this was emperor Great-E. In emperor Great-E's reign, "I-chih became minister of State. At Po two supernatural mulberry-trees grew up together in the palace,"¹⁸ and in one night became so large that they could hardly be clasped with two hands. Emperor Great-E was frightened, and, on questioning I-chih about it, the

latter said, 'I have heard it said that magic cannot overcome virtue. There are defects in your Majesty's government, but let your Majesty cultivate virtue.' Great-E followed his advice, and the supernatural mulberries withered away and disappeared. "I-chih consulted with the wizard Hsien," who ruled the royal household with success; "he wrote the orderly government of Hsien,"¹⁸ and the Great-E. Emperor "Great-E talked with I-chih" in the ancestral temple, and said that he should not remain a subject; I-chih declined (the honour intended), and "wrote the Order to Yuan."¹⁹ The Yin dynasty again flourished, and the princes returned to him. Hence he was called Middle Ancestor.

He died, and his son emperor Middle-D came to the throne. Emperor "Middle-D removed to Ao. River-altar-A lived in Hsiang." Ancestor B removed "to Kêng."²⁰

Emperor Middle-D died, and his younger brother Outer-J came to the throne; this was emperor Outer-J. The Middle-D book being lost, is not forthcoming.

Emperor Outer-J died, and his younger brother River-altar-A came to the throne; this was emperor River-altar-A. In his time the Yin dynasty again became corrupt.

River-altar-A died, and his son emperor Ancestor-B came to the throne. In his reign the Yins again flourished, and wizard Hsien held office.

Ancestor-B died, and his son emperor Ancestor-H came to the throne.

He died, and his younger brother Sleek-A came to the throne; this was emperor Sleek-A.

He died, and Ancestor-D, son of Ancestor-H, who was the elder brother of Sleek-A, was put on the throne. This was emperor Ancestor-D.

He died, and South-G, son of the younger brother Sleek-A, was put on the throne; this was emperor South-G.

He died, and Male-A, son of emperor Ancestor-D, was put on the throne; this was emperor Male-A. In his time the Yins became corrupt. Ever since the reign of Middle-D, legitimate heirs had been set aside, and junior scions put on the throne instead. These sometimes contended together, and displaced each other from the throne. This anarchy had been going on for nine generations, and so the princes would not come to court.

Emperor Male-A died, and Remove-G, his younger brother, came to the throne; this was emperor Remove-G. In his time the Yins already had their capital to the north of the Yellow river; Remove-G crossed to the south of the river, and reoccupied the old residence of T'ang the Successful. This "made the fifth change of capital," and as they had no fixed place of abode, "the people of Yin all murmured, and grumbled one to the other,"²¹ not liking to shift here and there. Remove-G then made the following announcement to the princes and high officials:— 'Formerly the exalted prince T'ang the Successful and your ancestors joined in establishing the empire; the pattern set could be followed, but to reject it and not to act energetically, is this the way to perfect virtue?' He then crossed to the south of the river, and ruled at Po. He carried on T'ang's system of government, and so the people afterwards were at peace; the conduct of the Yins again improved, and the princes came to pay homage at court, because he adhered to the virtues of T'ang the Successful.

Emperor Remove-G died, and his brother Little-H came to the throne; this was emperor Little-H. In his reign the Yins again became corrupt. The people bethought themselves of Remove-G, and then "the Remove-G in three parts was written."²¹

Emperor Little-H died, and his younger brother Little-B came to the throne; this was emperor Little-B.

He died, and his son Emperor Martial-D came to the throne. When he began to reign, emperor Martial-D considered how he could again cause the Yins to prosper, but he had not yet found any one to help him. For three years "he did not speak,"²² and government business had to be transacted by the prime minister, who thereupon observed the customs of the state.

One night Martial-D "dreamed that he had found" a holy man, named "Happy." With the person whom he had seen in his dream, he compared the numerous officers and functionaries, but it was none of those; so he "told the several artisans and soldiers to search for the man in the country, and Happy was found at the 'Workmen's Crag.'" At this time Happy was one of the convicts who "were building an embankment at Workmen's Crag."²² He had an audience of Martial-D, who said 'That is he.' After he had so found him he had a conversation with him, and, ascertaining that he really was a holy man, he "promoted him to be prime minister."²² The kingdom of Yin was very well governed, and as he was named after the Workmen's Crag, he was known as Workman-Happy. Emperor "Martial-D was offering a sacrifice to T'ang the Successful," and the next day "a pheasant flew on to the handle of the tripod and crowed."²³ Martial-D was frightened, but "Ancestor-F said," 'Let not the king be anxious, but first reform the Government.' "Ancestor-F then lectured the king, saying, 'When Heaven regards those living here below, it is guided by their goodness, and bestows on them length of years or the reverse. Heaven does not cause men to die prematurely, nor cuts short their lives. There are some people who do not conform to virtue, and do not acknowledge their faults. Heaven gives them a charge to correct their conduct, but they say, 'What can we do?' Ah! kings have an hereditary charge to be careful of the people, not one of whom is not

Heaven's heir. Sacrifice in the usual way, and perform no ceremonies" subversive of the right way. Martial-D reformed the government, and practised virtue. The whole empire rejoiced, and the Yins again prospered.

Emperor Martial-D died, and his son emperor Ancestor-G came to the throne. Ancestor-F praised Martial-D for acting virtuously in the matter of the pheasant omen, erected an ancestral temple to him under the title of the Exalted Ancestor and "the 'Day of the Supplementary sacrifice to the Exalted ancestor,' and the 'Instructions' were then written."²³

Emperor Ancestor-G died, and his younger brother Ancestor-A came to the throne; this was Emperor-A. He was dissipated and disorderly, and the Yins again became corrupt.

Emperor-A died, and his son emperor Granary-H came to the throne.

He died, and his younger brother G-D came to the throne; this was emperor G-D.

He died, and his son emperor Martial-B came to the throne. The Yins again departed from Po, and crossed to the north of the river. Emperor Martial-B was irreligious, and made an image in human form, which he called the spirit of Heaven. He played chess with it, and told a man to make its moves. When the spirit of Heaven lost he derided and insulted it; and making for it a leathern bag, he filled it with blood, hung it up in the air, and shot arrows at it. This he called shooting at Heaven; but when Martial-B was hunting between the Yellow and Wei rivers there was a violent clap of thunder, and Martial-B was struck by lightning and died.²⁴

His son emperor Great-D came to the throne.

He died, and his son emperor B came to the throne. In his reign the Yins became still more corrupt. Emperor B's eldest son was called Open,²⁵ viscount of Tiny; as the mother of Open was of

inferior rank, he could not succeed to the throne, so the youngest son H, whose mother was the real empress, became heir to the throne.

Emperor B died, and his son H came to the throne; this was emperor H, and the empire called him (Chou) Tyrant. Emperor Tyrant's natural disposition was excessively wicked; his hearing and sight very acute; his physical strength superhuman, so that he could with his fists fight with fierce beasts. His cunning enabled him to repel remonstrances, and his volubility to gloss over his faults. He boasted to his officers of his capabilities, surpassed everybody in notoriety, and acted so that all came under his domination. He was fond of wine, debauchery, and pleasure, and was partial to married women; his favourite was Ta-chi (Actress-F), and her word had to be obeyed. He then ordered the scholar Chüan to compose new licentious songs, the dances of Pei-li, and seductive music. He increased the rates and taxes so as to fill the Stag tower with money, and load Big Bridge (granary) with corn. He collected quantities of dogs, horses, and rare articles, with which he crammed his halls and palaces. He was always extending the parks and towers of Sand-mound, and acquiring numerous wild beasts and birds, which he placed therein: and he slighted the spirits. He organized great festivities at Sand-mound: for he made a lake of wine, hung meat on trees so as to form a forest, sent men and women naked to chase each other about therein, and had drinking bouts the whole night long. The people murmured and waited (for relief); but some of the princes rebelled. Tyrant then redoubled the severity of his punishments, and made use of the hot-metal-bar torture.²⁶

The Western chief Splendid, the marquis of Nine, and the marquis of Ou, were his three principal ministers. The marquis of Nine had a nice daughter,

who was introduced into Tyrant's harem; but as she disapproved of his debaucheries, Tyrant in a rage killed her, and chopped the marquis of Nine into small pieces. As the marquis of Ou vehemently remonstrated and sharply found fault with him, he also was cut into slices. The Western chief Splendid groaned in secret when he heard of it; but Tiger, marquis of Tsung, being aware of the fact, reported it to Tyrant, who²⁷ imprisoned the Western chief at Yu-li. The Western chief's officer Vast-Luxuriance and his companions sought out a beautiful girl, rare articles, and fine horses, and presented them to Tyrant, who thereupon pardoned the Western chief, and he, on his release from prison, offered Tyrant the territory west of the river Lo on condition that he would abolish the torture of the hot metal bar. Tyrant agreed to this, gave him a bow, arrows, battle-axe and halberd, sent him on a military expedition, and conferred on him the title of chief of the West. Expense-Second was, too, employed in the government; but as he was a great flatterer and greedy of gain, the people of Yin were not attached to him. Tyrant also employed Bad-Future; but as he was an adept at slandering and vilifying people, the princes became more and more estranged.

When the Western chief returned, he secretly cultivated virtue and did good. Many of the princes revolted from Tyrant and went over to the Western chief, who from this time increased, while Tyrant consequently lost by degrees his authority and influence. The king's son Pi-kan made remonstrances, but he was not listened to. Shangyung was a worthy man whom the people loved, but Tyrant dismissed him.

When the Western chief attacked the kingdom of Famine and destroyed it, one of Tyrant's ministers "Ancestor-That" heard of it,²⁸ "and as he hated (the house of) Chou, he hurried off in alarm to inform

Tyrant, saying, 'Heaven then is bringing to an end the mandate to our sovereigns of Yin. Neither influential men nor the great tortoise dare predict any luck. It is not that the ancient kings do not aid us, their descendants, but that your Majesty by your debauchery and cruelty is shortening your life. Heaven has therefore rejected us, and we cannot eat our meals in peace. You do not take account of the nature which Heaven has given you; you do not follow and obey the statutes. Now, of our people, there is not one who does not wish for your death, and does not say, Why does not Heaven cause its terrible wrath to fall on him? Why does not (some one holding) its great decree come forward? Now, O king, what can you do?' Tyrant said, 'Is not my life dependent on the decree of Heaven?' Ancestor-That retired and said, "Tyrant cannot be remonstrated with.'

After the death of the Western chief, king Martial of Chou set out on a military expedition to the east. Coming to Treaty ford the princes revolted against Yin, and assembled to the number of eight hundred at (the camp of) Chou. They all said Tyrant ought to be attacked; king Martial said, 'You do not yet understand Heaven's decree.' He then retired.

Tyrant became more and more dissolute and disorderly without cessation. The viscount of Tiny remonstrated with him several times; but as he was not listened to, he consulted with the senior and junior tutors and left the Court. Pikan said, 'One who is a subject cannot but strive till death with him.' He then vehemently remonstrated with Tyrant; but the latter was angry, and said, 'I have heard that the heart of a holy man has seven apertures,' and cut Pikan open to look at his heart. The viscount Sieve was terrified, and, pretending to be mad, "became a slave;" and Tyrant imprisoned him. The senior and junior tutors of Yin then took

their sacrificial utensils and musical instruments, and fled to (the prince of) Chou. King Martial of Chou thereupon forthwith put himself at the head of the princes to attack Tyrant, who also sent an army to oppose him in the plain of Mu.

On the day A-L Tyrant's army was defeated. He himself fled to the city, ascended Stag tower, and putting on his robes ornamented with precious stones, jumped into the fire and died. King Martial of Chou then cut off Tyrant's head and suspended it on a white standard; he also slew Actress-F. "He liberated the viscount of Sieve from prison, raised a tumulus over the grave of Pikan, and made a eulogy at the gate of the village of Shang-yung."²⁹ He granted a fief to Tyrant's son Martial-G-Pay-Father in order that he might continue the sacrifices to the Yins. He ordered him to carry on Remove-G's system of government, and the people of Yin greatly rejoiced.

King Martial then became son of Heaven. His descendants abolished the title of Divine emperor (Ti) and took that of king (wang). The descendant of the Yins was invested with the rank of prince, being a dependant of the house of Chou.

On the death of king Martial of Chou, Martial-G, in concert with Junior of Reed and Junior of Plant, rebelled. King Successful ordered the duke of Chou to slay them, and the viscount of Tiny was established in the State of Sung so as to continue the hereditary line of the Yins.

The grand historian said, 'With the help of the 'Sacrificial Odes' I have arranged the events regarding Contract. From the time of T'ang the Successful I have made compilations from the 'Book of History' and the 'Book of Odes.'

Contract had Viscount as his clan name; his descendants were granted various fiefs, and took as clan names the names of their kingdoms. There

were the clans of Yin, Come, Sung, Hollow Cave, Chih, North Yin, and Eye-Barbarian. Confucius said, 'The imperial "grand chariot of Yin was an excellent one, and the colour which was esteemed was white."' ³⁰

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹ This may be translated 'daughter of Yusung,' *i.e.* 'the possessor of Sung.' The expression may be intended by the historian as a variant of Yu-hsiung, the Yellow Emperor. Sung or Jung was also the name of a Thibetan tribe.

² The dark bird is stated to be the swallow, *vide* 'Book of Odes,' iv. 5, 3. "Heaven commissioned the dark bird to descend, and give birth to the Shangs." Contract, the ancestor of the Shangs, in 'Odes,' iv. 5, 4. is called the 'dark king.'

³ Quotation from 'Shuching,' second chapter (Legge Tr., p. 44).

⁴ Hsiang-t'u or Inspect-Land, the grandson of Contract, is in the 'Odes' (iv. 5, 4) spoken of as 'all-ardent,' and it is said that 'those beyond sea acknowledged his restraints.' He is not, however, named in the 'Book of History,' and the 'Records' say nothing whatever about him.

⁵ 'Report-D' is the first of the rulers of the Yin dynasty, whose names are composed of one or more cyclical characters, which, as we have seen above, are also found in the names of two of the Hsia emperors. One of the ministers, and the infamous consort of the last of the Yin emperors, as well as the ancestors of the princes of Ch'i, also bear names in accordance with this peculiar style. There have been many attempts to explain the origin of this custom, some saying that the cyclical characters were used to designate the days of the birth of the sovereigns, others that their real names were 'tabu,' and that they were therefore written with homophonous characters. There do not, however, seem to be any grounds for these assertions, especially when we recollect that the cyclical characters were not only applied to sovereigns, and there is every reason to conclude that the names were invented by Ssüma-Ch'ien (cf. Chalmers' 'Astronomy of the Ancient Chinese' in Legge's 'Shuching,' Proleg. p. 90, as to the date when the sixty-year cycle began in the Han dynasty).

⁶ These are quotations from the 'Preface to Shuching.' The

expedition is also referred to in the 'Announcement of Chung-hui' (Legge, pp. 3, 4 & 180), and in 'Mencius,' pp. 47, 148, & 355.

⁷ Mencius (Legge, p. 240) denies this imputation, and says, "I have heard that I-yin sought an introduction to T'ang by means of the doctrines of Yao and Shun, and not by means of his cooking abilities." According to 'Mencius' messengers from T'ang only came three times.

⁸ The 'pure and simple King' and 'the nine lords' probably refer to Buddhism. The third group of Buddhist heavens was inhabited by beings possessing true form and of different degrees of purity. See Williams' 'Buddhism,' p. 212.

⁹ Another quotation from the 'Preface to the Shuching,' p. 11.

¹⁰ The name K'un-wu resembles that of K'un-mo, the king of the Wusun country, to which a princess of China was sent in B.C. 105, or about the time that our historian was compiling his records.

¹¹ Here follows the 'Speech of T'ang,' or the tenth chapter of the 'Book of History,' although the sentences do not follow each other in the order there given. There is a great similarity between this speech and that uttered by the founder of the previous dynasty when attacking the Miao tribes five hundred years before, and it is also like the speech of the founder of the next (Chou) dynasty six hundred and fifty years afterwards. We shall find many other suggestive coincidences.

¹² Both the founder of the Chou dynasty and that of the Hans, when the 'Records' were compiled, were called by the name Warlike or Martial king. T'ang is also so called in the 'Odes' (Legge Tr., p. 642).

¹³ Here follow paragraphs 13 to 16 of the 'Preface to the Shuching' in slightly altered order, and with some modifications, e.g. T'ai-chüan-t'ao for Ta-chiung, and Chung-lei for Chung-hui. The 'Announcement of Chung-hui,' and that of T'ang, are the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the 'Book of History' respectively.

¹⁴ Paragraphs 20 and 17 of the 'Preface to the Shuching.' 'Both possessed pure virtue' is the name of the seventeenth chapter of the 'Book of History.'

¹⁵ The historian quotes from 'Mencius,' v. I, vi. 5. In one of the editions of the 'Historical Records' Outer-C is stated to have reigned two years, which agrees with 'Mencius.'

¹⁶ For the reign of Great-A we have a jumble of quotations from 'Mencius,' and paragraphs 18, 19 of the 'Preface to the Shuching.' The 'Instructions of I' and the 'Instructions to Great-A' constitute the thirteenth and fourteenth to sixteenth chapters of the 'Book of History' respectively. The extracts

from 'Mencius' sometimes give the sense of the passage, but not the exact words.

¹⁷ This quotation from the 'Preface,' para. 21, reads 'when Sleek-D had buried I-yin and Po,' etc. For this and the thirteen following reigns, covering according to the accepted chronology a period of three hundred and twenty years, there is no reference in the 'Book of History.'

¹⁸ From para. 22 of the 'Preface to the Shuching.'

¹⁹ Para. 23 of the 'Preface.'

²⁰ Paras. 24 to 26 of the 'Preface.'

²¹ Para. 27 of the 'Preface.' 'Remove-G' in three parts constitutes the eighteenth to the twentieth chapters of the 'Book of History,' but there is no quotation from it.

²² After two more reigns, of which we know nothing, although they cover a period of fifty years, we come to emperor Martial-D, and the few quotations here are partly from para. 28 of the 'Preface,' and partly from the 'Charge to Yue (Happy),' which constitutes the twenty-first to twenty-third chapters of the 'Book of History,' and wherein it is stated that the emperor, who had reverently and in silence been meditating on (Tao) the right path for three years, dreamed that he had found a holy man, and search being made for him, he was found living in a crag, he urges the emperor to be virtuous, and is in due course made prime minister. The historian was probably dreaming of Buddhist hermits living in crags, as they do even now, when he evolved the story. Their priests were, no doubt, gaining influence and power in the historian's day.

²³ We have now para. 29 of the 'Preface,' and the whole of 'the day of the Supplementary sacrifice of Kao-tsung (exalted ancestor),' which is the twenty-fourth chapter of the 'Book of History,' constituting another homily preached by a person called Ancestor-F. It is curious how many persons from the time of Shun are stated in history to have exhorted the emperors to practise virtue.

²⁴ The story of the tragic fate of the emperor who insulted an image called the spirit of Heaven seems calculated to appeal to the superstitious fears of those opposing the Buddhist religion.

²⁵ 'Viscount of Tiny' is the name of the twenty-sixth chapter of the 'Book of History.'

²⁶ The hot metal bar torture consisted in forcing persons to walk across a copper rod rubbed with grease, and placed over a pan of live charcoal. It is often shown in pictures of Buddhist hells.

²⁷ Another historical coincidence consists in the fact that the founder of the Yins and king Literary, the founder of the Chou dynasty, were imprisoned, but afterwards released, by the

last emperor (both of whom were called Tyrant) of the dynasties which they respectively overthrew.

²⁸ The homily delivered by Ancestor-That is quoted *in extenso* from the twenty-fifth chapter of the 'Book of History,' called 'The Western Chief's Conquest of the Black-haired race.'

²⁹ This quotation is from the thirty-first chapter of the 'Book of History,' called 'The Completion of the War.'

³⁰ The last sentence of the chapter, purporting to be a saying of Confucius, is really a combination of two passages from the 'Analects' and the 'Book of Rites.' The former reads, 'Ride in the grand chariot of the Yins,' and the latter, 'The people of Yin greatly esteemed the colour white.'

CHAPTER V

HISTORICAL RECORDS: THE CHOU DYNASTY

THE personal name of Prince Millet¹ of Chou was Castaway. His mother, a daughter of the prince of T'ai, was named Source-of-the-Chiang, and was the principal wife of emperor K'u. Source-of-the-Chiang, on going into the country, saw a giant's footstep; being pleased and elated thereat, she desired to tread in it, and when she had done so, her body was moved as if she was pregnant; she remained at home during the period of gestation, and gave birth to a son. Deeming this event unlucky, she cast the child into a narrow lane; but the horses and cows which passed by all avoided it and did not trample upon it. She picked it up, and placed it in the middle of a forest, but it happened that there were many persons there, so she removed it, and cast it on the ice in the middle of a canal, but the birds shielded and supported it with their wings. Source-of-the-Chiang then looking on it as a god, took it in, nurtured and brought it up; as she had at first wished to abandon it, she gave it the name of Castaway.

When Castaway was still but a lad, he had a will like that of a giant. As he went to and fro in his play, he used to sow and plant hemp and beans, which throve well, and when he became a man he was still more fond of agriculture; he cultivated that which was suited to the soil, and suitable crops were sown and brought to harvest. The people all took him as their model. When the emperor Yao heard

of this, he promoted Castaway to the rank of Minister of Agriculture, and as the empire benefitted by him, he became famous.

"The emperor Shun said, O Castaway, the black-haired people begin to suffer famine; will you, Prince Millet, sow and transplant the various crops?"²

Castaway was granted the fief of T'ai. His title was Prince Millet, and he had also the clan name of Chi. Prince Millet flourished in the epoch of T'ao-t'ang, Yü, and Hsia (Yao, Shun, and Yü), under all of whom he was distinguished for virtue.

Prince Millet died, and his son, Not-Empty, succeeded him. Towards the close of the life of Not-Empty, the government of the prince³ of the Hsia dynasty deteriorated. He abandoned agriculture, and did not concern himself about it. So Not-Empty lost his employment, and took refuge with the Jung and Ti tribes.

Not-Empty died, and his son Football succeeded him.

He died, and his son, Duke Battleaxe, succeeded him. Although Duke Battleaxe lived among the Jung and Ti tribes, he resumed the occupations of Prince Millet, and devoted himself to tilling the ground and sowing, doing that which was beneficial to the soil. From the Ch'i and Chiu rivers, and beyond the Wei river, he collected the plants which were useful. Those who travelled had wealth, and those who stayed at home had cattle and stores of grain. The populace relied on his good luck, the people loved him, and many shifted their habitations so as to put themselves under his protection. The prosperity of the conduct of the Chous commenced from this period. Therefore the poets sang and rejoiced when they thought of his virtues.

Duke Battleaxe died, and his son, Lucky-time, succeeded him. The capital was at Pin.

He died, and his son, August-Officer, succeeded him.

He died, and his son, Differ-not, succeeded him.

He died, and his son, Slander-Indulging, succeeded him.

He died, and his son, Duke Wrong, succeeded him.

He died, and his son, High-Groom, succeeded him.

He died, and his son, Second-Groom, succeeded him.

He died, and his son, Duke-Junior-Ancestor-Class, succeeded him.

He died, and his son, Ancient-Duke-True-Father, succeeded him. He resumed the occupations of Prince Millet and Duke Battleaxe, accumulated virtue, and did justice, and the people of the state all honoured him. The Hsün-yu, Jung and Ti tribes, attacked him, being desirous of acquiring his money and goods. He gave them up, but they again attacked him, as they wished to secure the land and people. The people were all angry, and wished to fight. Ancient-Duke said, 'When the people set up a chieftain, they do so in order to get some benefit from him. Now the Jung and Ti tribes attack me because "they want my territory" and people. Whether the people depend on me or on them, what difference does it make? My people wish to fight for my sake; but to slay the fathers and sons of those over whom I rule is what I could not bear to do.' He then with his family and dependants "departed from Pin," went over the Ch'i and Chiu rivers, "crossed the Liang mountain, and halted at the foot of mount Ch'i."⁵ The inhabitants of Pin set forth in a body, supporting their old men and leading their young ones, and again gave their allegiance to Ancient-Duke at the foot of Mount Ch'i. Then other neighbouring states, hearing of the goodness

of Ancient-Duke, also went over to him in great numbers.

Ancient-Duke then abjured the customs of the Jung and Ti tribes, for he erected city walls and ramparts, houses and palaces—and towns were then distinct places of residence. He appointed five officers with different functions. The people all sang odes,⁶ and rejoiced while extolling his virtues.

Ancient-Duke had an elder son named Great Earl,⁷ and a second son called Foreseen-Second. Great-Chiang bore the youngest son, Third-in-Order, who married Great-Employ. (Great-Chiang and Great-Employ) were both superior women. At the birth of Splendid there was a sacred omen.⁸ Ancient-Duke said, 'He who among my descendants should be famous will be Splendid probably.' The elder sons, Great-Earl and Foreseen-Second, knowing that Ancient-Duke wished to establish Third-in-Order as his heir, so that the succession might be transmitted to Splendid, both retired to the Man tribes of the Ching country, tattooed their bodies, and cut their hair so as to give place to Third-in-Order.

At the death of Ancient-Duke, Third-in-Order became ruler; this was Duke-Third. He continued to follow the line of conduct which Ancient-Duke had handed down to him; he was earnest in administering justice, and the princes obeyed him.

Duke-Third died, and his son Splendid succeeded him. This was the Western Chief, who was named king Literary.⁹ He followed the occupations of Prince Millet and Duke Battleaxe, and adhered to the principles of Ancient-Duke and Duke-Third. He was steadfast in goodness, respected the old, was tender to the young, courteous and submissive to the wise. During the day he hardly gave himself time to eat in order that he might devote himself to scholars, and they therefore resorted to him in numbers. Senior-Even and Junior-Level, who were

at Solitary-Bamboo, hearing that the Western Chief was in his goodness entertaining old men, came to put themselves under his protection. The high officials, Great-Summit, Vast-Luxuriance, Spread-Natural-Birth, Foster-Son, H-A, and their followers, all went over to him as well.

Tiger, Marquis of Eminence, calumniated the Western Chief before Tyrant, ruler of Yin, saying, 'The Western Chief accumulates good works and piles up virtue. The princes all incline favourably towards him. This will not be to the emperor's advantage.' Emperor Tyrant then imprisoned the Western Chief at Yu-li.

Vast-Luxuriance and his band were distressed at this, and sought out the beautiful daughter of the ruler of Yu-Hsin, a spotted horse from the Li-jung¹⁰ tribe, nine teams of horses from Yu-hsiung, and other rare and wonderful things, all of which they presented to Tyrant through Expense-Second, a favourite officer of the Yin court. Tyrant, greatly pleased, said, 'One of these things would have been enough to obtain the release of the Western Chief, so how much more all these!' He then pardoned the Western Chief, gave him a bow, arrows, axe, and halberd, and, sending him on a punitive expedition, said, 'It was Tiger, Marquis of Eminence, who calumniated you.'

The Western Chief then offered Tyrant the country west of the Lo river, on condition that he would abolish the hot-metal-bar torture; and this Tyrant agreed to do. The Western Chief did good secretly, and the princes all came to have their disputes settled by him.

At this time the Yü and Jui people had a lawsuit which they could not settle, so they proceeded to the state of Chou, but when they had crossed the frontier (they found that) the farmers all made concessions with respect to the limits of their fields, and that the custom of the people was always to be deferential to

their seniors. The Yü and Jui men, before seeing the Western Chief, were quite ashamed, and said to each other, 'That which we are fighting about would be considered disgraceful by the men of Chou. Why go on? We should only bring shame to ourselves.' Whereupon they turned and went back to their homes, after making mutual concessions. The princes hearing of this, said, 'The Western Chief is certainly a ruler who has received a divine mandate.'

The next year the Western Chief attacked the Dog-Jungs, the year after Mi-hsü (Secret Need), and the year after that he conquered the Aged men state. "Ancestor-That," a subject of the Yin dynasty, hearing of these matters, "was alarmed, and informed emperor Tyrant thereof. Tyrant said, 'Do not I hold Heaven's mandate? What can he do?'"¹¹

The following year (the Western Chief) conquered Yu, and the year after he conquered Tiger, Marquis of Eminence, built the town of Abundance, and transferred his capital thither from the foot of mount Ch'i.

The following year the Western Chief died, and his eldest son, Start, succeeded him. This was king Martial. The Western Chief reigned altogether about fifty years. When he was imprisoned at Yu-li he probably multiplied the eight trigrams of the 'Book of Changes' and made them sixty-four hexagrams. The poets speak of the Western Chief. The year in which he received Heaven's mandate, and was proclaimed king, was probably that in which the Yü-Jui lawsuit was settled. Ten years afterwards he died, and was canonized as king Literary. He changed the rules and measures, and fixed the first day of the first month. Bestowing retrospective honours, he gave Ancient-Duke the title of Great-king, and Duke-Third that of king-Third. The auspicious omen of royalty probably manifested itself at the time of Great-king.

When king Martial came to the throne, Great-Duke-Expect was made preceptor, and duke of Chou, Dawn, his assistant; their colleagues the duke of Call and the duke of Pi (Finish) were made left and right royal preceptors. The occupations handed down from king Literary were practised.

In the ninth year "king Martial went up and sacrificed to the Hyades (constellation)." In the East he reviewed the troops and "came to Treaty Ford." He made a wooden tablet of king Literary, and carried it in his chariot into the middle of the army; king Martial, calling himself "the heir-apparent Start," said that he was setting out on a hostile expedition in obedience to instructions from king Literary, and that he would not dare to act on his own responsibility. "He then harangued the Minister of War, the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of Works, and all the other officers, saying, 'Be orderly, firm, and sincere. I am ignorant, but through my ancestors I have virtue. I, a subject and a little child, am the recipient of the glory of my predecessors. I have definitely established a system of rewards and punishments to preserve their fame.' He then set the army in motion. The preceptor, Honoured-Father, called out, 'Assemble your multitudes, collect your boats and oars, the laggards shall be decapitated.' King Martial crossed the river, and when he was in midstream a white fish jumped into the king's boat. King Martial bent down and picked it up for a sacrifice." After he had crossed over "a flame of fire came down from above, and when it reached the king's-House it turned into a crow of a red colour with a soft note."

At this time "the lords assembled without pre-arrangement" at Treaty-ford "to the number of eight hundred. The lords all said, 'Tyrant ought to be punished.' King Martial said, 'You do not yet understand the mandate of Heaven. It is not

yet the time.' He then withdrew his army and retreated." ¹²

After a space of two years he heard that Tyrant's dissolute habits and cruelties had greatly increased; he had killed the royal prince Pi-kan, and imprisoned the viscount of Sieve. The grand preceptor Flaw and the junior preceptor Frontier took their musical instruments and fled to (the court of) Chou. Upon this king Martial made a general proclamation to the lords and said, '(The king of) Yin has redoubled his crimes, and it is impossible, if I do not thoroughly punish him, to obey the orders of king Literary.'

He then put himself at the head of his "war-chariots, which numbered three hundred teams, three thousand lifeguards brave as tigers," ¹³ and forty-five thousand cuirassiers, with which he marched eastward to punish Tyrant.

In the twelfth month "of the eleventh year on the day E-R the army having completed the crossing at Treaty-ford," the princes "all assembled and said, 'Energy! energy! do not be lazy.'" King Martial then "made a great harangue to the multitude as follows: 'Now Tyrant, the Yin king, listens to the words of his wife; he has separated himself from Heaven; he has ruined and destroyed the three principals; he has alienated himself from his royal uncles and maternal relatives; he has stopped and rejected the music of his forefathers in order that he might make use of dissolute songs; he has changed the correct melodies to please and amuse his wife. Therefore now, I, Start, am simply and respectfully executing Heaven's chastisements. Exert yourselves, heroes, for an effort which cannot be made twice or thrice.'" ¹²

In the second month "on the day A-L at grey dawn, king Martial came in the morning to the plain of Mu (Shepherds), in the neighbourhood of Shang, and made a harangue. King Martial, resting his left

hand on a yellow battle-axe, and brandishing with his right hand a white ensign as a signal, said, 'Far are ye come, men of the Western land.' King Martial said, 'Ah, my great chieftains and rulers of states, O ye ministers of instruction, of war, and public works, secondary officers, officers of the guard, chiliarchs, and centurions, and ye men of Yung, Shu, Chiang, Mou, Wei, Lu, P'êng, and P'u, lift up your lances, join your shields, erect your spears. I have a speech to make.'

The king said: 'The ancients have a proverb. The hen does not crow in the morning; the crowing of a hen in the morning just marks the ruin of the house. Now, Tyrant, king of Yin, only attends to the words of his wife. He has himself rejected the sacrifices arranged to honour his ancestors, and does not respond (to favours received); he has stupidly cast aside his family and kingdom; he has neglected his royal uncles and maternal relatives, not appointing them to posts. It is only those who come from the four ends of the earth, loaded with crimes, refugees, whom he honours and exalts, whom he trusts and employs, so that they tyrannize over the people, and behave as villains and traitors in the kingdom of Shang. Now I, Start, am simply and respectfully executing the chastisement of Heaven. In to-day's business do not take more than six or seven steps, then stop and dress your ranks. Heroes! exert yourselves! Do not exceed four, five, six, or seven blows, then stop and dress your ranks. Exert yourselves, heroes! Put on a terrible look! Be like tigers, bears, wolves, and dragons in the neighbourhood of Shang. Do not stop those who are able to flee, with a view to making them slaves in our western land. Exert yourselves, my heroes! If you do not exert yourselves to the utmost you will be put to death.'"¹⁴ Thus ended the harangue.

The troops of the princes which had assembled

numbered four thousand war-chariots, and they were drawn up in battle array on the plain of Mu. Emperor Tyrant having heard of king Martial's arrival also sent seven hundred thousand troops to oppose him. King Martial ordered the preceptor, Honored-Father, to go with one hundred warriors to provoke the army to battle, and with his main army he charged emperor Tyrant's troops; the latter, although numerous, had no mind to fight, and hoping that king Martial would quickly advance, Tyrant's troops all "reversed their weapons to fight," and so opened a passage for king Martial, who dashed forward; and the army of Tyrant was all routed or revolted from him. Tyrant fled back (into the town), climbed to the top of Stag tower, and putting on his robes, his pearls, and jewels, threw himself into the fire and died. King Martial seized the great white standard so as to signal to the lords. After they had prostrated themselves before king Martial the latter bowed to them. The lords all followed king Martial to the Shang capital, and the whole population waited for them in the environs. King Martial then sent a number of his officers to say to the people of Shang: 'Supreme Heaven is sending down its blessings.' The men of Shang all prostrated themselves twice and touched the ground with their foreheads; and king Martial, on his part, responded with a prostration. He then went to the place where Tyrant lay dead, and himself shot three arrows at the corpse; he then descended from his chariot and with a light sword struck it, then with a yellow battle-axe he cut off Tyrant's head, and suspended it on the great white standard. He afterwards went up to the two favourite concubines of Tyrant, who had strangled themselves. King Martial again shot three arrows at the bodies, struck them with a sword, cut off their heads with a black battle-axe, and suspended them on a small white standard.

When king Martial had finished he went out and rejoined the army.

The next day he cleansed the roads, repaired the altar of the god of the soil, as well as the palace of Tyrant of Shang. At the proper time a hundred men, bearing the 'Han' standards, served as the vanguard. King Martial's younger brother, Junior-Shake-Bell, had to present the lance-bearing chariot of war; Dawn, the duke of Chou, holding the great battleaxe, and the duke of Finish holding the small battleaxe, stood on each side of king Martial. Spread-Natural-Birth, Great-Summit, and Vast-Luxuriance, all brandishing their swords, formed the royal body-guard. They then entered, and stood on the south (of the altar) of the god of the soil. All the grand battalions on the right and left followed them. Hairy-Earnest-Junior offered pure water; Prosperous-Junior, of Wei, had the envelope of cloth and the mats; Crimson, duke of Call, had the secondary silks; the preceptor, Honored-Father, led in the ox for sacrifice; Governor-Ease divined with the grass-stalks, and offered the prayer as follows: 'Tyrant, the last descendant of the Yins, and the youngest of all, destroyed and set at nought the brilliant virtues of the ancient kings, insulted and despised the spirits of heaven and earth, and did not sacrifice to them; and he stupidly oppressed the people of the kingdom of Shang; may this be clearly and distinctly known to the Heavenly August god on high.'¹⁵ King Martial then prostrated himself twice with his head to the ground. He said, 'We must change the great mandate, degrade the Yins, and accept the clear mandate of Heaven.' King Martial again prostrated himself twice, with his head to the ground, and went out.

He gave in fief to Pay-Father, son of Tyrant of Shang, the remnant of the Yin people. King Martial, considering that the Yins had just been subdued, and

had not yet reassembled, told his younger brothers Junior-Fresh of Reed and Junior-Measure of Plant to help Pay-Father in governing them.

This being finished he directed the duke of Call "to liberate the viscount of Sieve from prison,"¹⁶ directed the duke of Finish to release those people who were imprisoned, "made a eulogy at the gate of the village of Shang-yung,"¹⁶ directed South-Palace-Inclosure "to dispense the wealth of Stag-Tower, and distribute the grain of Big-Bridge,"¹⁶ so as to succour the poor and feeble populace, directed South-Palace-Inclosure and his clerk Ease to exhibit the nine tripods, and the protecting jewels, directed Vast-Luxuriance "to raise a tumulus over Pikan's grave,"¹⁶ and ordered the ancestral invocator to sacrifice to the dead in camp. He then disbanded the troops and returned westward on a hunting expedition. "To record governmental measures he wrote 'Success of the War.'"

"He bestowed fiefs on the lords, and distributed among them, as presents, ancestral wine-cups; the 'Partition of the Yin vessels and objects' was written."¹⁷

King Martial, remembering the ancient holy kings, honoured the descendant of Divine-Labourer by giving him a fief at Scorch, gave Yellow Emperor's descendant a fief at Prayer, emperor Yao's descendant a fief at Thistle, emperor Shun's descendant a fief at Ranks, and the Great Yü's descendant a fief at Willow. He then gave fiefs to the distinguished officers and strategists. Now the preceptor, Honored-Father, was the first to be enrolled, he obtaining a fief at Camp-Hillock, called Ch'i (Level). He gave a fief to his younger brother, Dawn, the duke of Chou, at Curved-Mound, called Lu (Blunt); he gave in fief Yen (Swallow) to Crimson, duke of Call; he gave in fief Reed to his younger brother Junior-Fresh, and the Plant country to his younger brother,

Junior-Measure. The others all received fiefs in turn.

King Martial, summoning the chiefs, (called) the nine pastors ascended the mound of Pin to view the city of Shang; having come to (the capital of) Chou he could not sleep the whole night long, and Dawn, duke of Chou, on reaching the place where the king was, said, 'Why cannot you sleep?' The king said, 'I will tell you. It is just that Heaven does not accept the Yin sacrifices. From before the birth of me, Start, till now, that is for sixty years, the long-tailed deer¹⁸ have appeared in the suburbs, and flights of wild geese have filled the countryside. Heaven has not favoured the Yins, and now I have been successful. But when Heaven established the Yins it also raised up three hundred and sixty famous persons; and although they have not been very distinguished, still they have not yet been driven out and destroyed, so as I am not assured of Heaven's protection, how could I indulge in sleep?' The king said, 'To be assured of Heaven's protection, to rest in the celestial palace, to make a thorough search for wicked persons and degrade them as I have done Shouï, king of Yin, is what I have worked for day and night since I came to my western land. My deeds, however, are manifest, and my virtue shines forth everywhere. From the bend of the Lo river to that of the I river the country is level without inaccessible places; it was the residence of the Hsias. To the south I see in the distance the Three Roads, and on the north the country on the edge of the mountains; I also look at the Yellow river, and carefully observe that the Lo and I rivers are not far from the celestial palace.' The king built a residence for the Chous at Lo city, and afterwards went there.

"He let loose his horses to the south of the hill of Flowers, let his oxen graze on Peach-forest

common, laid down his arms," withdrew his soldiers, and disbanded his troops, "announcing that the empire would not again employ them."¹⁹

Two years after king Martial had conquered the Yins, he asked the viscount of Sieve the causes of their fall. The latter could not bear to talk of the vices of the Yins, so he spoke of life, death, and what would benefit the state. King Martial, too, was ashamed, and therefore asked about the road to Heaven.²⁰

"King Martial fell sick." The empire was not united, and the several dukes being alarmed, "reverently divined with the tortoiseshell." The duke of Chou then purified himself and fasted, offering himself as a security, with a view to "being king Martial's substitute. King Martial became better,"²¹ but afterwards died.

The heir-apparent, Chant, reigned in his stead. This was king Successful. He was young, and the Chous had but lately established the dynasty; so the duke of Chou, fearing that the lords would rebel, acted as regent, and administered the government of the state. His younger brothers, Junior of Reed and Junior of Plant, were suspicious of the duke of Chou, and together with Martial-G created trouble, and revolted against the Chous. The duke of Chou, having received the orders of king Successful, "attacked and slew Martial-G and Junior of Reed," banished "Junior of Plant, caused the viscount of Tiny, Open, to take the place of the descendant of the Yins," his capital being at Sung; he collected together most of "the remnant of the people of Yin, and gave them in fief to" Fief, king Martial's younger brother, he being called "Prosperous-Junior" of Wei.

"T'ang-Junior" of Chin "found an excellent head of grain, and offered it to king Successful, who sent it to the duke of Chou" at the place where the army was. "The latter received the grain in the

Eastern land, and set forth the commands of the Son of Heaven."

Formerly, when the princes of Reed and Plant revolted against Chou, the duke of Chou made war on them, and in three years completed their subjugation; so there was first "written the Grand Announcement," then the "Charge to the viscount of Tiny," then the "Offered grain," then the "Excellent grain," then the "Announcement of Prosperous," then the "Announcement about wine," and then the "Wood of the Catalpa." These matters are contained in the chapter about the duke of Chou.

When the duke of Chou had administered the government for seven years, as king Successful had grown up, the duke of Chou restored to him the government, faced the north, and took his place among his subjects. "When king Successful was at Abundance he sent the duke of Call again to build the town of Lo," in accordance with the wishes of king Martial; the duke of Chou again used divination, declared the result, and finally built the town and placed therein the nine tripods. He said, 'This is the middle of the empire; to bring tribute from the four quarters the *li* of the route are uniform.' There was "written the Announcement of Call, and the Announcement about Lo." King Successful "removed thither the remaining people of Yin; the duke of Chou announced the king's will, wrote 'the Numerous Officers' and the 'No Indulgence.' The duke of Call was guardian, and the duke of Chou tutor. In the East (the king) smote the barbarians of the Huai river, destroyed Cover, and removed its ruler to Thin-Maiden. King Successful returned from Cover, and when he was at the ancestral city of Chou wrote the 'Numerous Regions.' Having put an end to the dynasty of the Yins, he attacked by surprise the barbarians of the Huai river, he returned to Abundance and wrote the 'Officers of

Chou.'” Ceremonies and music flourished and were corrected, rules and regulations were then altered, and as the people dwelt in harmony the sounds of laudatory hymns arose.

“When king Successful had punished the barbarians of the East, the Rest-and-Thinks came to congratulate him; the king made presents to Sparkling-Earl, and the ‘Order for bribing the Rest-and-Thinks’ was written.

When king Successful was about to die,” he was afraid that the heir-apparent Pare was unable to fulfil his duties, “so he ordered the duke of Call and the duke of Finish to take the lead of the princes in aiding” the heir-apparent, and he was put on the throne. King Successful having died, the two dukes took the lead of the princes, and urged the heir-apparent Pare to pay a visit to the temple of the former kings; they set forth in detail the difficulties which kings Literary and Martial had in carrying out their royal duties; dwelt on the importance of being temperate, and not having many desires; with sincerity and good faith (they repeated the words of the late king when) about to die, and “the ‘Order given at the point of death’ was written.”²²

The heir-apparent Pare then ascended the throne; this was king Prosperous. “After king Prosperous had come to the throne he issued a general proclamation to the lords,” declaring to all what the duties of kings Literary and Martial had been, and expatiated upon them; and “the proclamation of Prosperous was written. Wherefore during the reigns of Successful and Prosperous the empire was tranquil, and the instruments of torture were laid aside and not used for over forty years.

“King Prosperous issued a decree ordering that the duke of Finish should apportion the dwellings, and regulate the frontier of Complete-Chou. The ‘Order to Finish’ was written.”²³

King Prosperous died, and his son Flaw, king Luminous,²⁴ came to the throne. In his time the royal conduct dwindled and became defective. King Luminous went southward on a tour of inspection, did not return, and died on the great river. His servants did not come to report the fact, and kept silence about the matter.

They placed on the throne Full, son of king Luminous; this was king Admirable. When he ascended the throne he was already fifty years old. The royal conduct had deteriorated; king Admirable being grieved at the deficiencies in conduct as compared with that of kings Literary and Martial,²⁵ "ordered Earl Chiung" to explain the prohibitions, and to be "high chamberlain" in the government of the state. "The 'Order to Chiung' was written," and peace was restored.

King Admirable being about to punish the Dog-Jung tribes, Strategy-Father, duke of Sacrifice, blamed him and said, 'This will not do. The former kings, who were brilliant in virtue, did not make a show of their soldiers. Now troops kept in reserve, and only moved as occasion requires, do when set in motion inspire awe, but when people make a show of them, they are just a plaything, and a plaything does not terrify any one. That is why the 'Sacrificial Ode of Duke Literary' of Chou says, "Store up the shields and spears; put into their cases the bows and arrows. I seek for benign virtue, and will spread it broadcast over this great region; verily I, the king, will preserve it."²⁶ The former kings acted thus with regard to the people. They made to flourish and perfected their virtue, and they improved their dispositions; they increased the search for wealth, and made profitable the use of implements, pointing out what was advantageous and what injurious to the district. In peaceful arts they made improvements, causing men to devote themselves to what

was profitable, and to avoid what was hurtful, to cherish virtue and fear the terrible; thus they were enabled to protect mankind, and make them increase and grow great. In former days our ancient kings transmitted from father to son the ministry of agriculture, and among those who served in this capacity were Yü (Shun) and the Hsias; but when the latter deteriorated, they rejected and paid no attention to cereals. When our ancient king Not-Empty lost his official post, and buried himself among the Jung and Ti tribes, he did not dare to neglect his occupation. Following the order of the seasons, he fulfilled his duties, and continued to hold in honour what had been entrusted to him; he observed his instructions and rules for morning and evening reverently and diligently; he carried them out with honesty and integrity, and fulfilled them with loyalty and good faith. The generations after him were also virtuous, and did not disgrace their predecessors. Coming now to kings Literary and Martial, they shone with the same brilliancy, and added thereto kindness and gentleness. They worshipped the gods and protected the people, who were one and all contented and happy. The Shang ruler, Emperor-H, was greatly hated by the people. The whole nation could not bear him; but they rejoiced in and placed their dependence on king Martial, so he brought his warriors into Mu of the Shang country. Wherefore the former kings did not regard war as essential; they merely compassionated the secret needs of the people with a view to remove their grievances.

Moreover, according to the regulations of the ancient kings, those within the territory (of the Son of Heaven) are "vassals of the Imperial domain," those outside the kingdom "vassals of the feudal lords;" the lords (outpost) "guards are vassals (treated as) guests; the I and Man tribes are "vassals by restraint;" the Jung and Ti tribes are

"vassals of the uncultivated lands." ²⁷ The vassals of the Imperial domain offer *chi* sacrifices; the vassals of the feudal lords *ssü* sacrifices; the guest-vassals *hsiang* sacrifices; the vassals by restraint *kung* sacrifices; the vassals of the uncultivated lands (fealty to the) king sacrifices. The *chi* sacrifices took place daily; the *ssü* sacrifices monthly; the *hsiang* sacrifices quarterly; the *kung* sacrifices yearly; and the fealty to the king sacrifices at the close (of the public mourning). This was the rule followed by the ancient kings with regard to sacrifices. If there were no *chi* sacrifices (the king) would regulate his thoughts; if no *ssü* sacrifices, his words; if no *hsiang* sacrifices, his writings; if no *kung* sacrifices, his reputation; and if no fealty to the king sacrifices, his virtue. If after this system had been established the vassals still did not come to court, punishments would be inflicted. Thus there would be punishments for those not offering *chi* sacrifices; attacks on those not offering *ssü* sacrifices; military expeditions against those not offering *hsiang* sacrifices; against those not offering *kung* sacrifices, reproofs; and against those not offering fealty to the king sacrifices, proclamations. There were, then, implements of torture for punishing, weapons of war for attacking, supplies for the military expeditions, orders for authoritative reprimands, and statements for the admonitory proclamations. When the orders had been published, and the statements set forth, if there were still any who did not come to court, (the king) would redouble his efforts for the cultivation of his virtue, and not compel the people to go to distant lands. In this way of those near at hand there was not one who did not obey, and of those afar off there was not one who did not submit to him.

Now since the deaths of Great-Net and Chief-Scholar²⁸ the Dog Jung tribes have always, in conformity with their duty, come to the fealty-to-

the-king-sacrifices. The Son of Heaven says, 'I will certainly march against them because they have not offered the *hsiang* sacrifices. He, moreover, makes a show of his soldiers, but does he not thereby disregard the instructions of the ancient kings? May not Your Majesty too perhaps sustain a check? I hear that Shu-tun,²⁹ chief of the Dog Jung, observes the ancient virtues, that he will hold out with tenacity and firmness for ever, and thus be able to withstand us.'

The king set out forthwith on his punitive expedition, and on his return brought back four white wolves and four white deer. From this time the vassals of the uncultivated regions came no more to court.

Some of the lords were not on terms of amity. Marquis of Great spoke to the king, and the 'Reform of the Tortures and Punishments' was written.

"The king said, 'Ho! Come ye rulers of states and territories, I will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. If now you would keep the people quiet whom would you choose if not good men? About what be careful if not punishments? On what deliberate if not their appropriateness? When both parties to a cause are quite ready, let all the judges listen to the five pleadings; when the five statements are substantiated, and are credible, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments; if they do not meet it, let them adjust it to one of the five fines; if these do not fit it, let it be classed among the five cases of error. The evil of so classing it is that officials or women may be implicated; ascertain the true nature of the offence, and do not let it be classed as an error if it is not a *bonâ-fide* one. When there are doubts as to whether one of the five punishments should be inflicted, pardon must be granted; when there are doubts as to whether one

of the five fines should be imposed, pardon must be granted; but try the case carefully, and master it. When many points are substantiated and evident, there must still be questioning and investigation; when the charge is not substantiated, (if the judge) has no doubt (of the guilt), let him always fear the dread majesty of Heaven. When in a doubtful case the punishment of branding has been remitted, the fine will be one hundred shua (*i.e.* six hundred ounces of copper); but you must ascertain the facts of the offence. When in a doubtful case the punishment of cutting off the nose has been remitted, the fine will be double or quintuple; but you must ascertain the facts of the offence. When in a doubtful case the punishment of cutting off the knee-cap has been remitted, the fine will be double less one-third; but you must ascertain the facts of the offence. When in a doubtful case the punishment of castration has been remitted, the fine will be five hundred shua (*i.e.* three thousand ounces of copper); but you must ascertain the facts of the offence. When in a doubtful case the punishment of death has been remitted, the fine will be one thousand shua (*i.e.* six thousand ounces of copper); but you must ascertain the facts of the offence. The cases in which branding has been commuted by a fine number proportionately one thousand; the cases where cutting off the nose has been commuted by a fine number one thousand; the cases where cutting off the knee-cap has been commuted by a fine number five hundred; the cases where castration has been commuted by a fine number three hundred; and the cases where capital punishment has been commuted by a fine number two hundred. Thus the total number of those liable to undergo the five punishments are three thousand." The name of the above was the Criminal code of Great.⁸⁰

King Admirable, having reigned fifty-five years,

died.⁸¹ His son, I-hu, or king Reverent, came to the throne.

King Reverent went for a walk on the bank of the river Ching. Duke Prosperous of Secrecy accompanied him. Three women had married him contrary to the rites, and his mother said, 'You must resign them to the king, for three animals form a herd, three men a crowd, and three women a galaxy. When the king goes hunting he does not catch a herd; when a duke takes action he does not refer the matter to a crowd; when the king takes concubines he does not have three women from the same clan. Now a galaxy is a thing of beauty, and this crowd considered as a beautiful thing belongs to you, but how do you manage to be worthy of it? If the king even is not worthy of it, how much less you, little toad. If you, little toad, live in luxury, you are sure to perish in the end.' Duke Prosperous did not give the women up, and a year afterwards king Reverent destroyed Secrecy state.

King Reverent died, and his son, Chien, who was king Excellent, came to the throne. In his time the royal house rapidly declined, and the poets composed satirical odes.

King Excellent died, and king Reverent's younger brother, Simile, came to the throne. This was king Dutiful.

He died, and the lords going back put on the throne, Concord, the eldest son of king Excellent. This was king Even.

King Even died, and his son Hu, (Mongol) king Cruel, came to the throne. After he had reigned thirty years he became avaricious, and familiar with duke Even of Spark.

The high official Good-Correct of Lichen blamed king Cruel, and said, 'Is not the royal house about to be brought low, for the duke of Spark is fond of monopolizing wealth, but he does not know what

great difficulties (will result)? Now riches are produced from all things which are contained in heaven and earth, and if one monopolizes them numerous calamities will be occasioned. The various products of heaven and earth are for all to take, so why should one man monopolize them? Those who would be irritated would be very numerous, and how should we provide against such serious difficulties? That is why I have forewarned Your Majesty; but you cannot long act in this way. He who reigns over men should guide them to wealth, and distribute it to high and low, so as to cause spirits, men, and all creatures to secure the utmost good. Further, he should ever dread giving offence, and fear to rouse animosity against himself. Therefore the sacrificial ode says, "O! Accomplished Lord Millet, thou art worthy to be placed on a par with Heaven; thou hast given grain-food to our multitudes, which is undoubtedly the result of thy perfection." In the Greater Odes of the kingdom it is said, "He distributes his gifts to sustain Chou."³² Does this not mean that if riches had not been dispensed, difficulties would have had to be feared? Consequently Chou has been able to be sustained to the present day. Now, O king, you are learning to monopolize wealth, but can it be done? If an ordinary man monopolizes riches he is called a thief, and if a king acts like this, but few submit to his authority. If the duke of Spark is employed, the Chous are sure to perish.'

King Cruel did not listen to this advice, but definitely made the duke of Spark chief minister, and employed him in affairs of state. The king's conduct was oppressive and arrogant, and the men of the kingdom lampooned him. Duke Call remonstrated, and said, 'The people cannot bear their lot.' The king was angry, and directed a wizard of the Wei state to find out the lampooners, who, on being

informed against, were put to death. The lampooners were few, but the lords no longer came to court. In the thirty-fourth year of his reign the king was still more strict, and the men of the kingdom, not daring to speak, just glanced at each other as they passed on their way. King Cruel rejoiced, and said to duke Call, 'I have been able to repress the lampooners, for they dare not speak.' Duke Call said, 'You have certainly made a dam, but to stop people's mouths is harder than to stop water. When water is blocked it comes through with a rush, and the loss of life is sure to be great. It is the same with people. That is why as those who have to do with water open passages and let the water flow out; so those who have to do with people let them go, and allow them to talk. Therefore let the Son of Heaven give the administration free scope; let dukes, ministers, and other officials present poems; let those without eyes present pieces of music; let the historians present histories, and the music-masters admonitions; let those whose eyes have no pupils recite; let those who cannot see, yet whose eyes have pupils, sing; and let the several officers present remonstrances. The common people would transmit their petitions (to the Sovereign); the officers who approach the throne would regulate everything; the royal relations would correct mistakes and supervise matters; blind men and historians would instruct and inform the sovereign; old men of sixty and of fifty years of age would correct the information. Then the king would deliberate, and so in the administration of affairs there would be nothing wrong. The people have mouths, as a country has mountains and rivers, from whence comes our material wealth; as it has plateaus and lowlands, swamps and marshes, from whence are produced our clothes and food. Mouths emit words, whence spring what is good and what is bad; so we practice what is good and guard against what is bad; and compare these things to

the production of material wealth, clothes and food. When people have thoughts in their minds, and can give vent to them by their mouths, you will succeed in what you attempt, but if you stop their mouths how can you possibly do anything?'

The king would not listen (to advice), so there was not one in the kingdom who dared to speak. Three years afterwards the nation conspired to rebel, and suddenly attacked king Cruel, who fled and took refuge at Pig-town.

Calm, king Cruel's eldest son, hid himself in the house of duke Call, which, when the men of the kingdom heard of, they surrounded.

Duke Call said, 'Some time ago I frequently remonstrated with the king; but he would not follow my advice, and so the present difficulty has arisen. If you now kill the heir-apparent, the king will think that I am his enemy, and that I am resentful and angry. Now, he who serves a prince should not, when he is in danger, be his enemy or resentful, nor when he is aggrieved should he be angry with him. How much more then when one serves a king?' Duke Call then substituted his own son for the heir-apparent, who managed in the end to escape.

The two ministers, duke Call and the duke of Chou, acted as regents, and that period was styled Joint-Harmony.⁸³

In the fourteenth year⁸⁴ of the Joint-Harmony period king Cruel died at Pig-town. The heir-apparent Calm had grown up in the house of duke Call, so the two ministers conjointly placed him on the throne as king. This was king Proclaim. After king Proclaim was on the throne the two ministers helped him to reform the government. He took as model the customs handed down by kings Literary, Martial, Successful, and Prosperous, and the lords again honoured the Chous.

In his twelfth year duke Martial of Lu state came to court. King Proclaim did not perform the ceremony of ploughing with his own hand²⁵ at Thousand Acres, so duke Literary of Kuo reproved him, and said, 'This should not be.' But the king heeded him not.

In the thirty-ninth year a battle³⁶ was fought at Thousand Acres, when the king's troops were completely defeated by the soldiers of the tribes of Chiang. As king Proclaim had lost an army in the southern states, he decided to take a census of the people at Great Plain. Hill-Great of Centre³⁷ remonstrated, saying, 'The people should not be numbered.' King Proclaim did not listen to his advice, and definitely numbered the people. In the forty-sixth year of his reign king Proclaim died, and his son Palace-mud, or king Dark, came to the throne. In the second year of the reign of king Dark the three streams of the western province were shaken (by an earthquake). Senior-Male-Great said, 'The Chou dynasty is about to perish. Now, the influences of heaven and earth should not lose their relative order, for if they do not keep their order the people will be restless. When the male principle lies hidden and cannot come out, and when the female principle oppresses it and it cannot rise, then there is an earthquake. Now the three streams have been really disturbed; this is because the male principle has lost its position, and that the female principle has taken its place. When the male principle loses predominance, and is under the female principle, the springs must be choked up, and when that is the case the kingdom must certainly fall. When water and land are in a flourishing condition the people have what is necessary, but when the land is not in a flourishing condition the people are deprived of the sources of wealth, and then how can they manage to escape destruction? Formerly the

I and Lo rivers dried up, and the Hsia dynasty perished; the Yellow river dried up, and the Shang dynasty perished. Now the virtue of the Chous is like that of those two dynasties in their decline. The sources of the rivers are, too, choked up, and that being the case, they are sure to get dry. But a kingdom must depend on its mountains and rivers, and when the mountains fall and the rivers dry up, this is a sign of the destruction of the kingdom. As the rivers are dried up the mountains are sure to fall, and the destruction of the state will occur within ten years, according to the cycle of numbers. The rejection of Heaven will take place within this cycle.' In the same year the three rivers were dried up and the Ch'í mountain fell.

In the third year of his reign king Dark became enamoured of Pao-ssü (Praise-Sister),³⁸ who gave birth to a son, Senior-Servant. King Dark wished to set aside the heir-apparent, whose mother was the daughter of the marquis of T, and was queen. Later, when king Dark had taken Praise-Sister and loved her, he wished to degrade queen T and expel the heir-apparent Proper-Mortar, so that he might make Praise-Sister queen and Senior-Servant heir-apparent. The grand historian of Chou, Senior-Male, after reading the historical records, said, 'Chou will perish.'

Formerly, when the princes of the Hsia dynasty had deteriorated, two sacred dragons settled on the palace of the Hsia Emperor, and said, 'We are two princes of the state of Praise.' The Hsia Emperor used divination to ascertain if he should kill them, drive them away, or let them stay, but had no auspicious answer. He then used divination to know if he should ask for (the dragons') froth and keep it, and the answer was favourable; so he spread a piece of cloth and offered a written prayer. The dragons departed, but their froth, which remained,

was placed in a casket and stored away. When the Hsia dynasty perished, this relic was handed to the Yins, and when the Yin dynasty came to an end, it was again handed down to the Chous. During these three dynasties no one dared to open it. But at the close of the reign of king Cruel it was opened and inspected, when the froth flowed through the palace and could not be removed; king Cruel made his wives appear naked and shout at it, when the froth was transformed into a black lizard, which in this form entered the king's harem. A young girl of the harem, who had just shed her milk-teeth, encountered it; and when she reached the age when the hair is fastened with a pin she became pregnant, and, without having had a husband, gave birth to a child, which in her fear she abandoned. In the time of king Proclaim a young girl sang the following couplet, 'A quiver of reeds and a mulberry bow will certainly ruin the kingdom of Chou.' When king Proclaim heard this, as there was a man and woman selling these articles, he sent to have them arrested and put to death. They fled, and on their way saw, lying in the road, the babe which had been abandoned by the aforesaid young girl of the harem. Hearing it cry at night they pitied it, and picked it up. The man and his wife then continued their flight, and took refuge in the country of Praise. The men of Praise, who had committed some fault, asked if they might redeem their fault by sending to the king the girl whom the young woman of the harem had abandoned. The cast-away girl came in this way from Praise, and that is why she was called Praise-Sister.

It was then the third year of king Dark's reign. The king going to his harem saw and loved Praise-Sister, and she gave birth to a son called Senior-Servant. Queen T and the heir-apparent were definitely degraded; Praise-Sister was made queen

and Senior-Servant heir-apparent. The grand historian Senior-Male said, 'The disaster has happened, and there is no help for it.'

Praise-Sister would not laugh, and king Dark, wishing to make her do so, tried ten thousand methods; but she would not laugh at all. King Dark erected a smoke-beacon, a fire-beacon, and a big drum; and (as if) the enemy was coming, he set fire to the smoke-beacon, and the lords assembled. But when they had come they found that there was no enemy. Praise-Sister laughed heartily, and king Dark, delighted, set fire to the smoke-beacon again and again; but in the end no one put faith (in the signal), and the lords, too, one after another refused to come.

King Dark made Stone-Father of Kuo his prime minister, and employed him in the administration. All men were indignant, for Stone-Father was artful and cunning, given to flattery, and fond of gain, yet the king employed him; he also degraded queen T, and banished the heir-apparent. The marquis of T was angry, and allying himself to the western barbarians of the country of Tsêng, and the Dog Jung, attacked king Dark, who set fire to the smoke-beacon so as to summon the troops, but they would not come. The enemy then killed king Dark at the foot of mount Li, took Praise-Sister prisoner, and carried away all the wealth of Chou.

The lords then approached the marquis of T, and in conjunction with him set on the throne Proper-Mortar, the ex-heir-apparent of king Dark, who was known as king Peace, so that he might offer the Chou ancestral sacrifices. When king Peace was on the throne he removed (his capital) eastward to the town of Lo, so as to escape the incursions of the Jung tribes. In the time of king Peace the house of Chou became weak and enfeebled, and the lords forcibly oppressed the weak. Ch'i,

Ch'u, Ch'in, and Chin states began to be powerful, and authority was vested in the chieftain of the region. In the forty-ninth year of the reign duke Yin (obscure) of Lu³⁹ came into power, and after a reign of fifty-one years king Peace died.

The heir-apparent Leak-Father having died prematurely, they put on the throne his son Forest; this was king Mournful. He was the grandson of king Peace. In the third year of king Mournful duke Grave of "Chêng"⁴⁰ came to court. King Mournful did not treat him with proper ceremony." In the fifth year "the duke of Chêng" being angry "made an exchange" with Lu state, and "obtained Grant field" which is the field which the son of Heaven "made use of to sacrifice to mount Great."

In the eighth year the Lu men "murdered duke Obscure, and established duke Mournful in power."⁴¹ In the thirteenth year (the king) "attacked Chêng." (A man of) Chêng "wounded king Mournful with an arrow,"⁴² and the latter retreated.

In the twenty-third year king Mournful died, and his son Humpback, who was king Grave, came to the throne. In his fourth year "the duke of Chou, Black Shoulder, wanted to kill king Grave and put on the throne Able, son of the king; Earl-H informed the king, who put the duke of Chou to death, and prince Able fled to Swallow state."

In his fifteenth year king Grave died, and his son Mongol-Level, who was king Control, came to the throne. In his third year duke Mournful of "Ch'i was the first president of the states."

In his fifth year king Control died, and his son Vacant, king Kind, came to the throne. King Kind's second year. "Formerly king Grave had a favourite concubine, Pretty by name, who bore him a son, Bald, whom he was very fond of. When king Kind came to the throne he seized the garden" of one of his high officers, "and turned it into a park, which

was the reason that Border-Senior" and four other ministers "raised an insurrection;" they plotted to call upon "the Yen and Wei troops to attack king Kind, who fled for refuge to Warm Town," and actually "dwelt at Scrub-oak,"⁴³ a town of the Chêng state.

"Bald," younger brother of king Control, "was made king; music and all sorts of dancing went on," which irritated the rulers of "Chêng and Kuo." In the fourth year these "rulers attacked and killed king Bald, and reinstated king Kind in his kingdom. In the tenth year of his reign king Kind bestowed on duke Mournful of Ch'i the presidency of the states.

In the twenty-fifth year king Kind died, and his son Earnest, who was king Overtop, came to the throne. The mother of king Overtop had previously died, and his step-mother was styled queen Kind. She gave birth to a son, Junior-Girdle, who was a favourite of king Kind, and was feared by king Overtop. In the third year Junior-Girdle, in alliance with the Jung and Ti tribes, plotted to attack king Overtop. The latter tried to kill Junior-Girdle, but he "fled for refuge to Ch'i state." Duke Mournful of Ch'i⁴⁴ "sent Reed-Middle to make peace between the Jung tribes and Chou; and sent Swamp-Friend to make peace between the Jung tribes and the Chin state. The king wished to treat Reed-Middle with the ceremony due to a high minister of State, but Reed-Middle refused it, saying, 'Your servant is of inferior rank. Here are Kingdom and High, two superintendents appointed by the son of Heaven. If at the regular periods at spring and autumn they come to receive Your Majesty's orders, with what ceremonies should they be entertained? I, who am doubly a subject, venture to decline the honour.' The king said, '(Messenger of my) father-in-law I commend your loyalty, but do not oppose my orders.' Reed-Middle eventually accepted the ceremonies due

to a junior minister, and withdrew." In the ninth year duke Mournful of Ch'i died. In the twelfth year⁴⁵ "Junior-Girdle came back" to the court of Chou. In the thirteenth year⁴⁶ "Earnest attacked Hua. The king sent Roaming-Grandson and Senior-Servant to intercede for Hua," but the men of Chêng imprisoned them. "Duke Literary of Chêng was annoyed because king Kind, on re-entering his capital, had not handed duke Cruel the drinking-cup, and he was also annoyed at king Overtop for allying himself with Wei and Hua, so he imprisoned Senior-Servant. The king was angry, and was about to attack Earnest with the aid of the Ti tribes, but Rich-P remonstrated," saying, 'On every occasion since our house of Chou was shifted eastward, the states of Chin and Earnest have been our supports, and when prince Bald revolted it was again by the aid of Earnest that peace was established. Now "for a petty animosity you cast her off.' The king would not listen to his advice." In the fifteenth year the king caused "the Ti troops to come down and attack Earnest; as the king was grateful for the services of the men of Ti, he wished to make the daughter of their chief his queen. Rich-P remonstrated," saying, 'Kings Peace, Mournful, Grave, and Kind, all benefitted by the trouble which Earnest took for them, but Your Majesty rejects your relations, and allies yourself with the Ti tribes. This course should not be followed.' The king would not listen to his advice."

In the sixteenth year "the king degraded the Ti queen." The men of Ti coming to slaughter, killed Boast-Senior. Rich-P said, 'I have frequently made remonstrances, but they have not been attended to. If under the circumstances I do not go forth (to battle), will not the king think I am actuated by hate?' He then went forth with all his dependents and they killed him. Formerly "queen Kind had wished to set up prince Girdle as king," and so she

had, with the help of her following, opened negotiations with the men of Ti, and they had accordingly entered the Chou capital. "King Overtop had fled away for refuge to the Earnest state, and the men of Earnest had given him a residence at Fan." Prince Girdle had placed himself on the throne as king; he took the Ti queen, who had been divorced by king Overtop, and "lived with her at Warm town." In the seventeenth year king Overtop urgently implored help from Chin. Duke Literary of Chin restored the king to power, and slew Junior-Girdle. The king then "presented duke Literary of Chin with a jade sceptre, aromatic herbs, bow and arrows, and nominated him president of the States";⁴⁷ the country within the bend of the Yellow river was granted to Chin. In the twentieth year "duke Literary of Chin summoned king Overtop who met him" at River-South and Occupy-Land. "The lords all came," without exception, "to render homage. The history," misrepresenting facts, "says, 'The king, by Heaven's grace, held a court of inspection on the south of the Yellow river.'"⁴⁸ In the twenty-fourth year "duke Literary of Chin died." In the thirty-first year duke Admirable of Ch'in died.

In the thirty-second year king Overtop died, and his son J-Officer, who was king Terrify, came to the throne.

In the sixth year king Terrify died, and his son Class, that is king Correct, came to the throne.

In his sixth year king Correct died, and his younger brother, Lustre, came to the throne; this was king Settle. In his first year "king Grave of Ch'u attacked the Jung tribes of Wide Confusion, and came on to the Lo river," he sent men "to make enquiries about the nine tripods; the king sent King-Grandson-Full to reply," and he managed to put him off.⁴⁹ The Ch'u troops then retired. In the tenth year king Grave of Ch'u besieged the capital of

Earnest. The count of Earnest surrendered, but afterwards recovered (his territory). In the sixteenth year king Grave of Ch'u died.

In his twenty-first year king Settle died, and his son Even, that is king Easy, came to the throne. In the thirteenth year the men of Chin "killed their sovereign duke Cruel; they went to meet the son (of duke) Chou⁵⁰ at the Chou capital, and made him ruler" under the title of duke Pity.

In the fourteenth year king Easy died, and his son Spend-Heart, that is king Intelligent, came to the throne. In the twenty-fourth year of king Intelligent, "Lofty-Oak of Ch'i assassinated his ruler duke Grave."

In the twenty-seventh year king Intelligent died, and his son Honorable, who was king Prospect, came to the throne. In the eighteenth year of king Prospect, the eldest son of the queen, who was a holy man, died prematurely. In the twentieth year "king Prospect, who was fond of his son Court, would have put him on the throne," but it happened that the king died.

The partisans of prince Beggar contended for the supremacy; the men of the kingdom placed on the throne the eldest son, Savage, and made him king; but prince Court attacked and slew Savage; he was known as king Pity. The men of Chin attacked prince Court and placed on the throne prince Beggar; this was king Respectful.

In the first year of king Respectful the men of Chin (were desirous) that king Respectful should enter his capital, but prince Court having placed himself on the throne, king Respectful was unable to enter and dwelt at Swamp. In the fourth year Chin, at the head of the lords, brought king Respectful into the Chou capital, and prince Court became a subject. The lords built a wall round the Chou capital. In the sixteenth year "the adherents of

prince Court again raised an insurrection,"⁵¹ and king Respectful fled for refuge to Chin. In the seventeenth year duke Settle of Chin thereupon caused king Respectful to enter the Chou capital. In the thirty-ninth year Field-Usual of Ch'i slew his sovereign, duke Easy. In the forty-first year "Ch'u destroyed Ch'ên." "Confucius died."⁵²

In the forty-second year king Respectful died, and his son Humane, who was king Principal, came to the throne.

In the eighth year king Principal died, and his son Single, who was king Fix, came to the throne. In the sixteenth year of king Fix the triple Chin state destroyed Earl-Clever and divided his territory.

In the twenty-eighth year king Fix died, and his eldest son, Banish-Sickness, came to the throne. This was king Grief. After king Grief had been on the throne three months, his younger brother, Junior, suddenly attacked and killed him, and placed himself on the throne. This was king Thought.

King Thought having been on the throne five months, his younger brother Rugged attacked and killed him, and put himself on the throne.

This was king Aged. These three kings were all sons of king Fix.

In the fifteenth year king Aged died, and his son R, who was king Majestic-Ardent, came to the throne. King Aged had given Honan in fief to his younger brother, who was duke Mournful, in order that he might inherit the honours and emoluments of the duke of Chou; when duke Mournful died, his son duke Majestic ruled in his stead; when duke Majestic died his son duke Kind took his place; he then gave Kung in fief to his youngest son, so that he might be in charge of the king; his title was duke Kind of the Eastern Chou. In the twenty-third year of king Majestic-Ardent the nine tripods were struck by lightning. It was

ordered that Han, Wei, and Chao should become princes.

In the twenty-fourth year the king died, and his son Haughty, who was king Rest, came to the throne. In the same year brigands killed king Sound of Ch'u.

After a reign of twenty-six years king Rest died, and his son Joy, who was king Ardent, came to the throne. In the second year of king Ardent's reign, Load, grand historian of Chou, visited duke Offer of Ch'in, and said, 'At first the Chous were in accord with the kingdom of Ch'in, then they separated, and after five hundred years of separation they will be again united; after seventeen years of reunion an autocratic king will appear.'⁵³

In the tenth year king Ardent died, and his younger brother, Flat, came to the throne; this was king Illustrious. In the fifth year of his reign king Illustrious congratulated duke Offer of Ch'in, who had the title of president of the states. In the ninth year the sacrificial viands offered to kings Literary and Martial, were sent to duke Dutiful of Ch'in. In the twenty-fifth year Ch'in assembled the princes at the Chou capital. In the twenty-sixth year Chou conferred the presidency of the states on duke Dutiful, of Ch'in. In the thirty-third year the king congratulated king Kind of Ch'in. In the thirty-fifth year the sacrificial meats offered to kings Literary and Martial were sent to king Kind of Ch'in. In the forty-fourth year king Kind of Ch'in was proclaimed king, after which the feudal princes were all called kings. In the forty-eighth year of his reign king Illustrious died, and his son, Fix, who was king Carefully-Invite, came to the throne. In the sixth year of his reign he died, and his son, Dilatory, who was king Blush, came to the throne. In his time the Eastern and Western Chous had separate governments. King Blush removed his capital to

the Western Chou. Reverent, the heir-apparent of duke Martial of Western Chou, died. The duke had five sons born of secondary wives, but he had not settled the succession. Commander-in-Chief Clip said to the king of Ch'u, 'Better give some territory to Error, the duke's son, and on the strength of it ask that he should be made heir-apparent.' Left-Success said, 'That will not do ; if Chou will not listen to you your cleverness will fail, and the relations with Chou will be strained. Better ask the ruler of Chou whom he wishes to appoint.' The duke privately told Clip, who proposed that he should get the king of Ch'u to make him a congratulatory present of territory. The duke after all appointed his son, Error, heir-apparent.

In the eighth year Ch'in attacked I-yang, and Ch'u went to the rescue ; then, thinking that Chou was in league with Ch'in, he was about to attack the former, but Sutai spoke on behalf of Chou to the king of Ch'u, saying, 'Why cause trouble by thinking that Chou is in league with Ch'in? Those who say that Chou assists Ch'in more than Ch'u wish to force Chou into the arms of Ch'in, and so they talk of Chou-Ch'in. If Chou knows that it cannot controvert (your intention) it will certainly join itself to Ch'in ; this is the subtle plan for causing Ch'in to annex Chou. I would suggest the following scheme for Your Majesty : 'If Chou joins Ch'in, take occasion to approve, if it does not ally itself with Ch'in, still say that it is a good thing, and you will thereby estrange it from Ch'in, and when Chou has detached itself from Ch'in it is certain to join Ying.' Ch'in wished to make use of the road between the two Chous when about to attack Han. Chou was afraid that if it was lent for the purpose it would have to fear Han's wrath, but if not, it would be in dread of Ch'in's vengeance. Clerk Satiated said to the ruler of Chou, 'Why do you not get some one to say to

Junior, duke of Han, 'If Ch'in dares to cut Chou in two in order to attack Han, it is because it trusts Eastern Chou; why does not your Highness give Chou territory, and send hostages to Ch'u?' Ch'in would thus be sure to suspect Ch'u, and would not trust Chou, and so Han would escape being attacked. You might also say to Ch'in, Han was compelled to give Chou territory so as to cause Chou to be suspected by Ch'in; Chou dares not refuse the present, and Chin will certainly not have any excuse for telling Chou not to accept it; thus you will have received territory from Han, and you will have obeyed Ch'in.'

Ch'in summoned the ruler of Western Chou, but he, not liking to go, told some one to say to the king of Han, 'Ch'in summons the ruler of Western Chou because he is about to direct an attack on your town of Nan-yang. Why does not your Majesty send troops to Nan-yang? The ruler of Chou would then make that fact an excuse to Ch'in (for not going), and if the ruler of Chou does not go to the Ch'in country, Ch'in will certainly not dare to cross the river to attack Nan-yang.' When Eastern Chou was fighting with Western Chou, Han was about to succour the latter, but some one spoke to the king of Han on behalf of Eastern Chou, as follows: 'Western Chou was the ancient kingdom of the Son of Heaven, and possesses many famous objects and valuable jewels. If your Majesty halts your troops and does not send them out, you will gain the gratitude of Eastern Chou, and the jewels of Western Chou will certainly be all secured as well.' King Blush told Successful-Ruler that Ch'u was besieging Harmony-Family town. Han was levying from Eastern Chou cuirasses and grain, and the ruler of Eastern Chou, being afraid, called Su-tai and told him about it. The latter said, 'Why is your Majesty troubled about that? I can manage so that Han shall no longer

levy cuirasses and grain from Chou ; and I can also secure High City for you.' The ruler of Chou said, 'If you are able to do that, you shall not ask for a kingdom in vain.' Su-tai, obtaining an audience of the Han minister of state, said, 'Ch'u began to besiege Harmony-Family in the third month, but it is now the fifth month, and it is still unable to take it, this shows Ch'u's weakness. If now, O minister of State, you levy cuirasses and grain from Chou, you will be declaring your weakness to Ch'u.' The Han minister of state said, 'Very well, the envoy will delay his journey.' Su-tai said, 'Why not give Chou High City?' The Han minister of State, greatly enraged, said, 'My not demanding cuirasses and grain from Chou is already a great deal; why then should I deliver up High City as well?' Su-tai said, 'If you give High City to Chou it will decide to join Han, and when Ch'in hears of it it is sure to be very angry, and in its wrath against Chou it will break off relations with the Chou envoys. Therefore for the petty town of High City, you will get Chou altogether into your power, why then should you not hand it over ?

The minister said, 'Very well,' and High City was after all given to Chou.

In the thirty-fourth year of the reign, Su-li spoke to the ruler of Chou as follows : 'Ch'in has defeated Han and Wei, beaten Army-Instructor, and in the north captured the towns of Rush and Scattered-Stones belonging to Chao. This is all done by White-Rise, who is clever at moving troops, and also holds Heaven's mandate. He is now again about to send an army over the frontier to attack Liang, and when Liang has been defeated Chou will be in danger. Why does not Your Highness send some men to say to White-Rise, 'In the state of Ch'u there was a man called Live-by-patrimony, who was a good archer, for when shooting at a willow-leaf at a hundred paces he

would in a hundred shots hit it a hundred times. The bystanders who were looking on to the number of several thousand, all said, 'Well shot,' but one individual who came up to him said, 'Good, but I can teach you how to shoot.' Live-by-patrimony in a rage dropped his bow and, drawing his sword, said, 'Stranger, how can you teach me to shoot?' The stranger answered, 'It is not that I can teach you how to extend your left arm and bend your right, but since at the distance of a hundred paces you have had a hundred shots at a willow leaf, and hit it a hundred times, if you do not rest satisfied therewith, gradually your zeal will decline, your strength fail, and when you draw your bow your arrows will curve, and then if you once miss, the effect of your hundred shots will be quite useless.' Now you have defeated Han and Wei, beaten Army-Instructor, and in the north captured the towns of Rush and Scattered-Stones belonging to Chao; your achievements are many in number, but if you also send troops beyond the frontier to cross the two Chou states, turn your back on Han, and attack Liang, then if one of your expeditions fails, your past achievements would be entirely thrown away; you had better plead sickness and not go.'

In the forty-second year Ch'in broke the treaty of Flower-Male. Horse-Thief said to the ruler of Chou as follows: 'I beg you to direct Liang to build a wall round the Chou capital;' then he said to the king of Liang, 'The king of Chou is ill; if he dies, I, Horse-Thief, shall certainly die too. I beg that I may of my own free will send your Majesty the nine tripods. Would your Majesty receive them and plan something on my behalf?' The king of Liang said, 'Very well,' and as soon as possible gave him troops, telling them to keep in garrison at Chou. Then (Horse-Thief) said to the Ch'in king, 'Liang does not propose to garrison Chou, but to attack it. Would your

Majesty, as an experiment, send troops to the frontier to watch Liang?' Ch'in actually sent out troops. (Horse-Thief) further said to the king of Liang, 'The king of Chou is very sick; I beg that I may send (the tripods) later when it is possible to do so. Now as your Majesty has sent troops to Chou, the princes all suspect you, and if afterwards you take action they will not trust you. You had better order your soldiers to build a fort for Chou, so as to conceal your designs.' The king of Liang said, 'It is well,' and at once ordered the soldiers to fortify the Chou (capital).

In the forty-fifth year the ruler of Chou went to the Ch'in country, and a stranger said to Hsü of Chou, 'The best thing you can do is to praise the king of Ch'in for his filial piety, and with that object present the queen dowager with the town of Ying as her private domain. The king of Ch'in is sure to be pleased, and you will enter into relations with Ch'in. If these relations are good, the Chou sovereign will surely give you all the credit, but if bad, you will have encouraged the ruler of Chou to ally himself to Ch'in, and will certainly be deemed a criminal. As Ch'in was about to attack Chou, Hsü of Chou said to the king of Ch'in as follows: 'I would advise your Majesty not to attack Chou, for if you do, you will certainly not gain much. Your name will be detested by the empire, which will therefore of a surety ally itself on the east with Ch'i, your army will be defeated by Chou, you will have caused the empire to ally itself with Ch'i, and Ch'in will no longer hold kingly rank. The empire wishes to ruin Ch'in, and so persuades your Majesty to attack Chou, but if Ch'in is humbled in the estimation of the empire, its orders can no longer be enforced.'

In the fifty-eighth year the triple Chin state withstood Ch'in, and Chou ordered its minister of state to go on a mission to Ch'in; but as he was insulted, he

returned to his post. A stranger spoke to the minister of state as follows: 'Whether Ch'in has treated you with contumely or with honour, I cannot tell, but she wishes to know the feelings of the three states; it would be better for you forthwith to have an audience of the king of Ch'in, and say, I beg your Majesty will pay attention to the changes which are occurring in the east. The king of Ch'in is sure to honour you, and in so doing, Ch'in will honour Chou, and Chou will thereby win over Ch'in. He whom Ch'i honours is assuredly Chou-Hsü, through whom Ch'i has been obtained. Thus Chou has never lost her friendly relations with important kingdoms. Ch'in will trust Chou, and send troops to attack the triple state of Chin.'

In the fifty-ninth year Ch'in took Fu-chou (near South-town in Han state. Western Chou, being terrified, revolted from Ch'in, and, making an alliance with the princes on the east of the passes, marched with a picked body of Imperial troops through I-ch'üeh (That-Defect) to attack Ch'in, and prevent it from having any communication with South-town. King Luminous of Ch'in was angry, and sent general Vex to attack Western Chou, whose ruler fled for refuge to Ch'in, and, prostrating himself on the ground, admitted his faults, and offered to deliver up all his thirty-six towns, containing thirty thousand inhabitants. Ch'in accepted the offer, and sent back the prince to Chou. The ruler of Chou, king Blush, died, and the people of Chou then went away to the east. Ch'in seized the nine tripods and the precious utensils, and transferred the duke of Western Chou to Fear-fox. Seven years afterwards, king Grave-Overtop of Ch'in destroyed the Eastern and Western Chou; they were both annexed to Ch'in, and the Chou sacrifices then ceased.

The grand historian says, 'Scholars all assert that when (the king of) Chou attacked Tyrant, he lived

at the town of Lo, but on inquiring into the facts we find that it was not so. King Martial traced the plans, and king Successful sent duke Call to use divination as to residing there, and placed the nine tripods there; the Chous, however, still had their capital at Abundance and at Warming-Pan, but when the Dog Jung tribes defeated king Dark, the Chous then moved their capital eastward to the town of Lo. With reference to the statement that the duke of Chou was buried at the place, which is in our day the town of Finish, I would say that Finish is in the midst of pear-trees to the south-east of Warming-Pan. After Ch'in had destroyed Chou, and ninety odd years after the rise of the Han dynasty, the son of Heaven, being about to offer the *fêng* sacrifice on Great mountain, inspected the fiefs on the east. On coming to Honan, he looked for the Chou posterity, and gave to their descendant Excellent a territory thirty *li* in extent, with the title of prince Chou of Tzŭ-nan; he was ranked with the independent princes so that he might fulfil the duty of offering sacrifices to his ancestors.'

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

¹ Prince Millet, the founder of the Chou dynasty, is, like Fu-hsi (see Chapter I.), stated to have been miraculously conceived in consequence of his mother having set her foot in the footprint of a giant, or, as recorded in the 'Book of Poetry' (III. ii. 1), in that of a god (ti). Many of the particulars here given are repeated in the ode in question, and we also read there that his mother, after offering a sacrifice and praying that her childless condition might be altered, brought forth her son 'without splitting or rending, without injury or hurt,' like the mother of Gaudama Buddha.

² This is a quotation from the 'Canon of Shun.'

³ Weichao says that the prince of the Hsia dynasty here referred to is the third king, or Prosperous the First.

⁴ The particular ode referred to is, no doubt, Part III.,

book ii., Ode 6. Dr. Legge points out the difficulty of reconciling the statements in the 'Record' with the standard chronology, in his note to this ode (L. C. IV., p. 484), but it appears to me unimportant, as it is impossible to treat these early accounts as veritable history.

⁶ The story of Ancient-Duke True-Father, the fourteenth ancestor of the Chous, is also given in 'Mencius,' I. ii. 15, but in slightly different form, and he is there referred to as king Great.

⁶ The following odes, III. i. 3, III. i. 7, IV. i. (i.) 5, and IV. ii. 4, praise Ancient-Duke's virtues, and he is therein mentioned under both of the above designations.

⁷ Ancient-Duke's eldest son, Great Earl or Great-Senior, as well as Duke-Third (subsequently canonized as king-Third) and Great-Employ, the father and mother of king Literary, are mentioned in Odes III. i. 2, III. i. 6, and III. i. 7.

⁸ A commentator says that the sacred omen was a red sparrow, which perched on the door of Splendid's house. The bird held in its beak a vermilion-coloured scroll covered with moral precepts. With this may be compared the flame of fire dissolving into a red crow, which appeared to king Martial over 'King's-House,' a mountain in South China.

⁹ The Western Chief, otherwise known as king Literary, although he never seems to have ascended the throne, is frequently mentioned in the 'Book of Poetry.' The 'Record of the generations of emperors and Kings' says king Literary had a dragon's face, tiger's eyebrows, four nipples, and was ten feet high, while another author says that he had circular horns, a bird's beak, saintly wisdom, and was eight feet two inches high!

¹⁰ The Li-jung horses are stated to have been tall animals with red manes and gold-coloured eyes.

¹¹ A line or two from 'The Western Chief's Conquest of the Black-haired Race' is quoted again.

¹² Here occurs about half of the text of the 'Great Declaration,' as preferred by Chiang-Shêng and other scholars, and given by Dr. Legge as an appendix after the other version in his translation of the twenty-seventh to twenty-ninth chapter of the 'Book of History.'

¹³ This corresponds with 'Mencius' VII. ii. 4, iv., but the 'Preface to the Book of History,' gives the number of officers as three hundred.

¹⁴ Here occurs a transcript of the thirtieth chapter of the 'Book of History,' called 'The Speech at Mu.'

¹⁵ Many sinologists are of opinion that the 'Heavenly August god on high,' or simply 'the god on high' (Shang ti), as we have it in the 'Canon of Shun,' and elsewhere in the classics, refers to the Supreme Being. Dr. Legge, in his notes on the

'Book of History' (L. C. III., p. 34), says that during the Chou dynasty there grew up the doctrine of the five *Tis*, sometimes represented as distinct from Shang ti, and sometimes as different manifestations of him. If, then, the conception of Shun, and the Chou dynasty as well, can be shown to have originated in the times of the Hans, there is no reason to suppose that Shang ti means anything more than Jupiter or some other planet or planets.

¹⁶ Four sentences from the thirty-first chapter of the 'Book of History,' called 'the Completion of the War,' are quoted.

¹⁷ Parts of the thirty-fourth and thirty-sixth paragraphs of the 'Preface to the Shuching' are quoted, but some of the words are altered for others of the same meaning, and additional words inserted to complete the sense.

¹⁸ The long-tailed deer is the *Elaphurus Davidianus*. It is stated in a note that the appearance of 'long-tailed deer in the suburb' refers to flatterers at court, and that 'the wild geese in the country' means that men of good report were banished and despised.

¹⁹ We have here a sentence or two from 'the Completion of the War,' as arranged by T'sai Ch'ên (see Legge, 'Trans.,' p. 318).

²⁰ In the thirty-second chapter of the 'Book of History,' entitled 'The Grand Plan, with its nine divisions,' we have an exposition of the discourse which viscount Sieve is supposed to have held with king Martial of Chou, after which as Ssuma informs us, the king, being ashamed of his question as to the cause of the fall of the Yin dynasty, questioned the viscount about the Heavenly Path. Dr. Legge stated in the notes to his translation of the chapter, that, although it contained some moral precepts, it was 'an enigma full of perplexities and absurdities.' There is, of course, a great deal in it as to the practice of divination for the solution of doubts; but we cannot read passages like the following (par. 14), "without deflection, without partiality, follow kingly righteousness; without selfish likings, or dislikings, without turning back, or to one side, pursue the kingly path, which is broad and long, which is level and easy, which is right and straight, and we shall ultimately meet with and be absorbed in sublime perfection," without suspecting that the author is attempting to inculcate Buddhist principles.

²¹ A few words direct our attention to the 'Metal-bound Coffer,' which is the thirty-fourth chapter of the 'Book of History;' they are the barest quotations from that chapter. There seems to be no reference to the thirty-third chapter, or 'the Hounds of Lü.'

²² The record of king Successful's reign is composed almost

entirely of extracts from the 'Preface to the Shuching,' paragraphs 40 to 59, and twelve chapters of the 'Book of History,' are mentioned by name. These are, the 'Great Announcement,' 'Charge to the Viscount of Tiny,' 'Prosperous Announcement,' 'Announcement about Wine,' 'Wood of the Catalpa Tree,' 'Call's Announcement,' 'Lo Announcement,' 'Numerous Officers,' 'No Indulgence,' 'Numerous Regions,' 'Officers of Chou,' and the 'Testamentary Charge;' that is, chapters 35 to 43, 46, 48, and 50. Chapters 44, 45, 47, 49, 53, and 57, which are also supposed to belong to this reign, do not appear in the 'Records.' There is a great sameness in the contents of the chapters. In most of them we find a great deal about the duty of being reverent, and of being careful about punishments. The founders of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties are referred to in terms of praise, while the last sovereigns of Hsia and Shang are blamed. Chapter 57 is the last but one of the 'Book of History,' and so would appear to be out of chronological order. It refers to an expedition against the men of Huai, and is very similar to other speeches in the 'Book of History.' The soldiers are to have their weapons in order, and keep their ranks; the people are to take care that the army cattle are not injured, and the direst punishment is threatened against those who refuse to supply provisions for the army.

²³ In these few sentences we have quotations from paragraphs 60 and 61 of the 'Preface of Shuching.' The 'proclamation of king Prosperous' and 'the Order to Finish' form chapters 51 and 52 of the 'Book of History.' In the former kings Literary and Martial, and in the latter the duke of Chou, are held up for commendation.

²⁴ The next reign, that of king Luminous, is said to have lasted fifty-one years; but in the 'Preface to the Shuching' he is not even named, and no chapter of the 'Book of History' is supposed to date from his time. The 'Record of the generations of emperors and kings' gives the additional information that the king was drowned while crossing the Han river in a boat, the planks of which were only glued together.

²⁵ This is paragraph 63 of the 'Preface to the Shuching.' The 'Order to Chiung' is the fifty-fourth chapter of the 'Book of History.'

²⁶ The quotation is from the 'Book of Poetry,' IV. i. (i.) Although the duke of Chou, whose posthumous title was duk Literary, is here stated to be the author of the ode, the 'Tso chuan' says that it was written by king Martial, his brother.

²⁷ It may be observed that the five domains mentioned here are the same as those named in the 'Tribute of Yü,' with the exception of the third, which is termed *Wei*, 'the lord's guards or frontier defence,' and bears the same name as the

sixth of the domains of the 'Rites of Chou.' There have been various efforts made by scholars to reconcile the two accounts, but they are all unsatisfactory.

²⁸ "Great-Net" and "Chief-Scholar" are stated to be the names of two chiefs of the Dog Jung tribes.

²⁹ Shu-tun means literally 'Establish-sincerity.'

³⁰ Here occurs a long extract from the fifty-fifth chapter of the 'Book of History,' which is not, however, called the 'Reform of the Tortures and Punishments,' but the 'Punishments of Lü,' in that classic, although in the 'Li-chi' it is designated 'Punishments of Fu (the Great).' This is explained by Dr. Legge and others by the statement that the descendants of the marquis of Lü were appointed to the principality of Fu, and that the name of the Book was consequently altered some three hundred years afterwards, but no reason is advanced for the name 'Reform of Tortures and Punishments,' which is given here by Ssuma, and inasmuch as at the close of the extract the historian calls it the 'Criminal Code (or Punishments) of the Great,' the foregoing explanation is most unsatisfactory. In that portion of the fifty-fifth chapter, which is not quoted, we find mentioned the name not only of Senior-Even, the Great Yü, and Millet, but even of 'Stupid Criminal,' who was the first rebel of the time of the Yellow Emperor (B.C. 2698).

³¹ The historian does not mention the Western-King-Mu (mother), whom, according to the 'Annals of the Bamboo books,' king Admirable visited.

³² The four lines are quoted from the 'Book of Poetry,' IV. i. (1) x., while the single line is from Ode III. i. 1.

³³ This is another case of repetition by the historian, for the duke of Chou and the duke of Call were the names of the regents in the time of king Successful. The 'Annals of the Bamboo books' and other authorities have it, however, that, instead of the period of the regency being called Joint-Harmony, it was Harmony Earl of Joint who was regent.

³⁴ In the opinion of many sinologists the chronology is supposed to be more trustworthy from this date, which is usually given as B.C. 828.

³⁵ The ceremony of the emperor ploughing with his own hand in order to encourage agriculture among the people is still a time-honoured custom. It is stated in the Siamese life of Gautama Buddha that Suddhodana, his father, commemorated the time of sowing by going with a large company and seven hundred and ninety-nine ploughs to a certain place, when the earth was broken and seed sown.

³⁶ The battle of Thousand-Acres is incidentally referred to in the 'Spring and Autumn' classic (Legge's 'Trad.,' p. 40).

³⁷ The personage here referred to is much praised in Ode III. iii. 6. We are informed (see Legge, IV., p. 542) that his clan name was Centre, and his designation Hill-Great, although it seems more natural to render his name Great of the Central Hills.

³⁸ Praise-Sister is mentioned in Ode II. iv. 8.

³⁹ This year, supposed to synchronize with B.C. 722, is given as the first of the 'Spring and Autumn Annals.'

⁴⁰ This is recorded differently in the 'Spring and Autumn Annals' (see Legge, 'Trad.,' pp. 21, 25).

⁴¹ As recorded in the 'Spring and Autumn Annals' (Legge, 'Trad.,' p. 34).

⁴² This is recorded under fifth year of duke Huan (*op. cit.* p. 46).

⁴³ These occurrences are stated more fully in the aforementioned 'Annals' (*op. cit.*, pp. 99-101).

⁴⁴ This is a quotation from the 'Annals' again (*op. cit.* p. 159).

⁴⁵ This is recorded in the 'Annals' as having occurred two years later (*op. cit.*, p. 183).

⁴⁶ The events which the historian reports as having occurred during the four following years are recorded in the 'Annals' under the twenty-fourth year of duke Hsi (*op. cit.* pp. 192, 193).

⁴⁷ Some critics ascribe the fifty-sixth chapter of the 'Book of History,' entitled 'Charge to Marquis Literary' to this year B.C. 635; although from the 'Preface' it seems to belong to the reign of king Peace, the wording of para. 65 is very much the same as that of this passage in the 'Records,' and moreover the name of the king giving 'the Charge' is not stated. It is remarkable that if the chapter referred to is attributable to the reign of king Overtop, there should be an interval of over three hundred years since the previous chapter is supposed to have been written. Again, under the twenty-eighth year of duke Hsi, three years later (B.C. 632), there is a passage in the 'Tsochuan' worded like this in the 'Records,' and also like 'the Charge.' It is as follows: "The king ordered that the marquis of Chin should be president of the states, and presented him with . . . one red bow and a hundred red arrows, a black bow and a thousand arrows, a jar of spirits made from the black millet, flavoured with aromatic herbs" (cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 211).

⁴⁸ "The history" here intended is the 'Spring and Autumn Annals,' and the whole passage is curious as showing that the author admits that he misrepresents facts because "for a subject to call his ruler to any place is a thing not to be set forth as an example. Therefore the text says, 'The king held a court

of inspection on the south of the River' (Legge, 'Trad.,' p. 212).

⁴⁹ The question was evaded by the reply that the weight of the tripods varied according to the virtue of the emperor on the throne (*op. cit.*, p. 293).

⁵⁰ 'The son Chou.' The two characters should be reversed (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 409).

⁵¹ For the quoted clause and attendant events, see 'Annals' (*op. cit.*, 763).

⁵² Confucius died in the sixteenth year of duke Ai, but there is a difficulty about the day of the month (*op. cit.*, p. 846).

⁵³ In the 'Ch'in Records' there is a similar remark to this, but the reading seventeen years is there changed to seventy-seven. The prophecy is a very vague one, and there does not seem to be much use in trying to evolve sense out of it. It is curious that in 'Mencius' II. ii. 13 we have an exact counterpart of the prophecy to the effect that "an Imperial ruler must arise in the course of five hundred years."

CHAPTER VI

HISTORICAL RECORDS: THE CH'IN DYNASTY¹

THE ancestor of the Ch'ins was a descendant of the emperor Chuan-hsü; his grand-daughter was named Nühsiu (Woman-Reform). As the latter was weaving, a dark bird dropped an egg, which she swallowed, and gave birth to a son, Great-Inheritance,² who married a daughter of Shao-tien, named Nü-hua³ (Woman-Flower). The latter gave birth to Great-Expense, who, together with Yü, regulated the water and the land, and on its completion the emperor presented a dark jade sceptre to Yü, who on receiving it, said, 'I could not have accomplished the work if Great-Expense had not been my assistant.' The emperor Shun said, 'Ah! as you, Great-Expense, assisted Yü in his meritorious labours, I present you with a black pennon; your descendants will be a great progeny.' He then married him to a beautiful woman of the clan Pretty. Great-Expense bowed and accepted (these gifts). He helped Shun to subdue and tame birds and beasts, and numbers of them became tractable and obedient. Great-Expense was, in fact, Po-yi (Cypress-Screen), and Shun gave him the clan name Ying (Winner). He had two sons, one named Great-Moderation, who was actually of the Bird-Habits family; the other named Like-Wood, who was actually of the Expense family.

The latter's great-great-grandson was called Expense-Splendid, whose descendants lived, some in the Middle kingdom, and some among the I and Ti

tribes. Expense-Splendid, during the reign⁴ of Tyrant of the Hsia dynasty, left the Hsias, and went over to the Shangs; he was T'ang's charioteer, and as such defeated Tyrant at Whistle Branch. The great-great-grandson⁵ of Great-Moderation was called Elder-Play-Younger-Actor, who had the body of a bird, and the voice of a man. Emperor Great-E heard about him, and, on divining with the tortoise-shell, it was foretold that if he was made a charioteer the result would be lucky. So it was forthwith arranged that he should be the charioteer, and he was given a wife. From the time of Great-E, the descendants of Younger-Actor were for many generations famous for aiding the Yin dynasty, and that is why the clan Winner became distinguished; he became one of the feudal princes.

His great-great-grandson was called Middle-Islet; he lived among the Jung tribes of the west, and defended the western borders. He had a son Feilien (God-of-the-Winds), who had a son O-lai (Bad-Future). Bad-Future was strong, and God-of-the-Winds a quick walker. Both father and son by their talents and strength served Tyrant of the Yins, and when king Martial of Chou conquered Tyrant he killed Bad-Future also. At this time God-of-the-Winds (set up) a stone⁶ for Tyrant in the north. On his return, as there was no one to whom he could make a report, he erected an altar on mount Speed-Great, and stated that he had secured a stone coffin, the inscription on which read, 'The god commands that Ch'u-fu⁷ (Place-Father), not having been present at the Yin troubles, shall be given this stone sarcophagus, so as to glorify his family.' He died and was buried on mount Speed-Great.

God-of-the-Winds had another son called Kisheng (Youngest-Victory) who had a son Mêng-tsêng (Elder-Addition) who was on good terms with king Successful of Chou, and was known as the

dweller at Marsh-Wolf. Marsh-Wolf had a son, Balance-Father, who had a son Tsao-fu (Create-Father). The latter being a good charioteer was in favour with king Admirable of Chou. He had a team of four horses named Eager, Gentle-Deer, Beauteous-Bay, and Green-Ear. (The king) having gone westward on a tour of inspection, enjoyed himself, and did not come back. King Prostrate of Hsü (Dignity) having rebelled, Create-Father, who was charioteer to king Admirable, galloped back by long stages to the Chou capital in order to give succour in the rebellion. King Admirable gave the town of Chao in fief to Create-Father, whose kindred were from that time known as the Chao family. Five generations after God-of-the-Winds, who had begotten Youngest-Victory, we come to Create-Father, who resided apart at Chao, and the Chao are undoubtedly his descendants.

Bad-Future-Skin, who was the son of God-of-the-Winds, died prematurely. He had a son called Woman-Guard, who had a son Side-Marsh, who had a son Great-Bench, who had a son Great-Camel, who had a son Contrary-Child. In consequence of the favour which Create-Father had enjoyed, they all had the honour to hold the town of Chao, and their clan name was Chao.

Contrary-Child lived at Dog-Hillock. He liked horses and cattle, and knew how to rear and breed them. The men of Dog-Hillock spoke of him to king Dutiful of Chou, who summoned him, and told him to look after his horses in the country between the Chien and Wei rivers. The horses were prolific, and greatly increased in numbers. King Dutiful wished to make him heir to Great-Camel; (but) the daughter of Marquis-T, who was the wife of Great-Camel, had borne a child Successful, who was the heir. Marquis-T then spoke to king Dutiful as follows, 'Formerly the daughter of Li-hills, my

ancestor, married All-Carriage, the Jung, and gave birth to Middle-Islet, who on account of this relationship gave his allegiance to the Chous, and defended the western frontier, so for this reason the men on the frontier were friendly (to Chou). Now we have again given to Great-Camel a wife who has given birth to an heir-son Successful, so T and Camel having thus twice intermarried, the Jung of the west are all submissive, and it is that fact which makes you king. Will your Majesty reflect on this?' King Dutiful then said, 'Formerly Cypress-Screen tended cattle for Shun, and as they multiplied greatly he possessed a territory, and was given the surname Winner. Now his descendant in turn causes my horses to breed. I will allot him land so that eh may be my vassal's adherent, and he shall have a fief at Ch'in.' He directed him to continue the sacrifices to the Winner family, and his name was Ch'in-Winner. At the same time the king did not take away from the son of Marquis-T's daughter the title of heir to Great-Camel, so as to keep on good terms with the western Jung.

Ch'in-Winner had a son Ch'in-Marquis, who died after ruling ten years. He had a son Duke-Senior, who died after ruling three years. He had a son Ch'in-Younger. After he had ruled three years, as king Cruel of Chou was unprincipled, some of the feudal lords revolted, and the western Jung having rebelled against the royal house, utterly destroyed the Great-Camel clan at Dog-Hillock. When king Proclaim of Chou came to the throne he made Ch'in-Younger a high official in order that he might destroy the western Jung, but they killed him. He had ruled twenty-three years when he died at the hands of the Jung.

He had five sons, of whom the eldest was called duke Grave. King Proclaim of Chou then summoned duke Grave and his four brothers. Giving them an

army of seven thousand men, he sent them to fight against the western Jung, who were defeated. Whereupon (the king) allowed him to act as successor to Ch'in-Younger, granting him the territory of Dog-Hillock, which had belonged to his ancestor Great-Camel. He had all this, and was high official of the western frontier as well.

Duke Grave resided at western Dog-Hillock, where his ancestors had lived. He had three sons, the eldest of whom was named Generation-Father. The latter said, 'The Jung killed my grandfather Ch'in-Younger. If I do not kill the king of the Jung, I shall not dare to enter the town.' He then set out to attack the Jung, giving up his position to his younger brother duke Overtop, who became heir-apparent. Duke Grave after ruling forty-four years died, and the heir-apparent, duke Overtop, ruled in his stead.

In the first year of his rule duke Overtop gave his younger sister, Admirable-Winner, in marriage to the king of Abundance.⁸ In the second year of duke Overtop the Jung besieged Generation-Father at Dog-Hillock. He fought against them, but was taken prisoner by the Jung, and in a little over a year he was again released. In the seventh year, in spring, king Dark of Chou had engaged Praise-Sister, set aside the heir-apparent, and made the son of Praise-Sister his lawful heir. He had many times deluded the princes, and they had revolted against him. The western Jung and the Dog Jung in conjunction with Marquis-T attacked the Chous, and slew king Dark at the foot of mount Li; but duke Overtop of Ch'in came with an army to rescue the Chous.⁹ He fought with great energy, and was successful; so the Chous escaped the danger created by the Dog Jung tribes, and moved eastward to the town of Lo. Duke Overtop with his troops escorted king Peace of Chou, who invested him with the rank

of prince, and gave him the territory west of mount Ch'i, saying, 'The Jungs, acting lawlessly, invaded and raided my territory of Ch'i and Abundance, but (the ruler of) Ch'in has been able to attack and drive out the Jungs, so let him possess this territory.' He made a solemn declaration, and conferred on him a fief and a title of nobility. Duke Overtop had then for the first time a kingdom, interchanged ambassadors with the princes, and practised the rites of present-giving and entertainments. He then took three bay colts with black manes, three yellow oxen, and three rams, and sacrificed them to the god on high¹⁰ at West altar. In the twelfth year he fought against the Jungs, came to Ch'i (mount), and died.

He had a son duke Literary. In the first year of his reign duke Literary dwelt in the palace on the western border. In the third year duke Literary, with an army of seven hundred men, hunted in the east. In the fourth year he came to the junction of the Chien and Wei rivers, and said, 'Formerly the Chous gave my ancestor Ch'in-Winner a fief here; then his descendant definitely obtained the title of prince. Whereupon he used divination to know if he should reside there, and the answer being favourable he marked out the plan of a town. In the tenth year he inaugurated the altar at Fu,¹¹ and sacrificed three victims there. In the thirteenth year historians were first appointed to record events, and many people were reformed. In the sixteenth year duke Literary with an army attacked the Jungs, who were defeated, and fled. Duke Literary then collected the people of Chou who were left, and they came under his rule, his territory extending to mount Ch'i, the land east of mount Ch'i being given to the Chous. In the nineteenth year he found the jewel of Ch'en.¹² In the twentieth year the law for punishing with death relations to the third degree¹³ was

instituted for the first time. In the twenty-seventh year they felled the great catalpa tree of the southern hills (whence came) the great bull of Abundance¹⁴ (river). In the forty-eighth year the heir-apparent of duke Literary died. He was given the posthumous title of duke Tranquil. The eldest son of duke Tranquil became heir-apparent, and this was the grandson of duke Literary. In the fiftieth year duke Literary died, and was buried in the western hills.

The son of duke Tranquil came to the throne; this was duke Calm. In the second year of duke Calm, the duke transferred his residence to Peace-Male, and sent troops to attack Subverted-Altar. In the third year he fought against Hair; the king of Hair fled for refuge to the Jung, and then Subverted-Altar was destroyed. In the fourth year Pheasant, member of the ducal family of Lu state, "murdered his ruler, duke Obscure."¹⁵ In the twelfth year the duke attacked Subverted-Family, and took it. Duke Calm was ten years old when he came to the throne; he reigned twelve years, died, and was buried in the western hills. He had three sons, of whom the eldest, duke Martial, was heir-apparent. Duke Virtue, younger brother of duke Martial, had the same mother as himself. The princess of Lu bore a son, prince Go. On the death of duke Calm, the chief *shu-chang* Reckless, Terrible-Rampart, and Three-Fathers set aside the heir-apparent, and made prince Go ruler.

In the sixth year of prince Go, Three-Fathers and the others again combined to order some persons to assassinate prince Go. He was five years old when he came to the throne, and after ruling six years, died. Three-Fathers and the others then again set up as ruler the former heir-apparent, duke Martial.

Duke Martial, in the first year of his reign, attacked the Drumming-Sport tribe, and arrived at

the foot of Flower hill ; he resided in Sealed-Palace at Peace-Male. In the third year he slew Three-Fathers and his band, and destroyed their relations to the third degree, because they had killed prince Go. High-Sewer-Blind¹⁶ of Chêng state killed his ruler, duke Luminous. In the tenth year the Jung of Kuei and Ch'i were attacked, and magistracies were established there for the first time. In the eleventh year magistracies were first established at Sweet-Pear and Chêng. The little Kuo tribe were destroyed. In the thirteenth year Reed-Perfect-Father, Corrected-Statement, and other men of the Ch'i state killed their ruler, duke Overtop,¹⁷ and "set up Duke-Grandson-Know-Nought as ruler." The state of Chin destroyed¹⁸ (the states of) Huo, Wei, and Kêng-Harmony-Granary of Ch'i state "slew Know-Nought," Reed-Perfect-Father, and his band, and made duke Mournful of Ch'i the ruler. Ch'i and Chin became powerful kingdoms. In the nineteenth year Bending-Sleek of Chin became for the first time marquis of Chin. Duke Mournful of Ch'i became president of the states at Chüan. In the twentieth year duke Martial died, and was buried at Peace-Male near Harmony. For the first time they sacrificed persons that they might follow the deceased to the other world ; those sacrificed numbered sixty-six. (Duke Martial) had a son named White, who was not ruler, but had Peace-Male as a fief. The duke's younger brother, duke Virtue, became ruler.

In the first year of his reign duke Virtue resided for the first time in Harmony town at Great-Chêng palace. He offered in sacrifice three hundred oxen at the altar of Fu. It was foretold by divination that he should reside at Harmony, and that afterwards his descendants should water their horses in the Yellow river. The earl of Beam and the earl of Buttercup came to the court. In the second year he instituted the dog-day sacrifice ; by killing a dog he

kept off poisonous insects. Duke Virtue was thirty years old when he began his rule, and after ruling two years he died. He had three sons—the eldest, duke Proclaim; the second, duke Successful; and the youngest, duke Admirable. The eldest, duke Proclaim, became ruler.

In the first year of duke Proclaim (the princes of) Wei and Yen attacked Chou; they drove out king Kind, and placed on the throne the royal prince Bald. In the third year the earl of Chêng and Kuo junior slew prince Bald, and reinstated king Kind. In the fourth year the duke made an altar at Silence.¹⁹ He fought with Chin at River-South and defeated him. In the twelfth year duke Proclaim died. He had nine sons, not one of whom became ruler, and his younger brother, duke Successful, was ruler.

In the first year of duke Successful the earl of Beam and the earl of Buttercup came to court. Duke Mournful of Ch'i attacked the mountain Jung, and went as far as Solitary Bamboo. Duke Successful having ruled four years, died. He had seven sons, none of whom held rule, and his younger brother, duke Admiral, became ruler.

Office-Good, duke Admiral, in the first year of his rule, placing himself at the head of his troops, attacked Rush-Ford, and gained a victory. In the fourth year he went to welcome a wife from the Chin state, who was the elder sister of T-Birth, heir-apparent of Chin. This year duke Mournful of Ch'i attacked Ch'u, and went as far as the Shao tombs. In the fifth year duke Offer of Chin destroyed (the states of) Yu and Kuo, and took prisoner the ruler of Yu as well as his high official Po-li-hsi (Hundred-Village-Servant) by means of a jade ring and horses, which he sent as bribes to Yu. After capturing Po-li-hsi, he bade him escort to the Ch'in country the wife of duke Admirable of Ch'in. Po-li-hsi fled from Ch'in and went to Yüan, but some men on the Ch'u

frontier stopped him. Duke Admirable, hearing that Po-li-hsi was a sage, wanted to pay a heavy ransom for him, but fearing that the men of Ch'u would not give him up, he sent a man to say to them, 'One of my officers, Po-li-hsi, who formed part of an escort, is in your state. I propose to ransom him for five rams' skins.'²⁰ The men of Ch'u agreed forthwith, and gave him up. At this time Po-li-hsi was over seventy years of age. Duke Admirable released him from prison, and would have talked politics with him, but he excused himself and said, 'Your servant is the subject of a ruined state, and not worthy to be questioned.' Duke Admirable replied, 'The ruler of Yu was ruined because he did not follow your advice; it was not your fault.' He insisted on questioning him, and they talked for three days. Duke Admirable was greatly pleased, and handed over to him the government of the kingdom with the title of 'high officer of the five Rams.' Po-li-hsi declined it, and said, 'Your servant is not the equal of his friend Cripple-Junior, who is a sage, though the world does not know it. During my constant travels I was in distress in Ch'i state, and having to beg for food from the men of Chih, Cripple-Junior received me into his house. I then wished to enter the service of Know-Nought, ruler of Ch'i, but Cripple-Junior stopped me, and I was thus able to escape the difficulties which arose in Ch'i; after that I went to the kingdom of Chou. Bald, son of the king of Chou, was fond of cattle, and as I reared cattle, I entered into negotiations with him, and he wished to employ me, but Cripple-Junior stopped me; so I went away, and was saved from destruction. When I was in the service of the ruler of Yu, Cripple-Junior checked me. I knew that the ruler of Yu would not be guided by me, but I considered my private interests, my salary and position, and remained in his service. Twice I followed his advice, and succeeded in getting

away. Another time, when I did not follow it, I was involved in the difficulties of the ruler of Yu; that is how I know this man is a sage.' Then duke Admirable sent men with ample presents to look for Cripple-Junior, and made him a high official of the first rank.

In the autumn duke Admirable placed himself at the head of an army to attack Chin state, and there was a battle at River-Bend. Fleet-Princess of Chin created a rebellion, and the heir-apparent T-Birth died at New-Town; Heavy-Ear and I-wu (Even-we) fled out of the country.

In the ninth year²¹ duke Mournful of Ch'i assembled the princes at Mallow-Hillock. Duke Offer of Chin died, and How-Level son of Fleet-Princess became ruler. Village-Able, one of his subjects, killed How-Level, and Plant-Cease set up as ruler Lofty-Prince; Village-Able then slew Lofty-Prince and Plant-Cease. Even-we sent a messenger to beg (the prince of) Ch'in to help him to enter (the state of) Chin. Duke Admirable consented, and sent Po-li-hsi at the head of an army to escort Even-we, who said: 'If I really obtain the sovereignty, I propose to sever from the rest eight towns belonging to Chin west of the river, and cede them to Ch'in.' But when he had arrived and begun his rule (over Chin), he sent Great-Earnest to thank the ruler of Ch'in; but he broke his promise, for he did not deliver up the towns west of the river, and killed Village-Able. When Great-Earnest heard of this, he was afraid, and so discussed the matter with duke Admirable, saying: 'The men of Chin do not want Even-we, but they really desire to have Heavy-Ear. Now the former has broken his agreement with Ch'in, and killed Village-Able; and all this has been done through the machinations of Spine-Son-in-law and Refuse-Buttercup. I trust your Highness will, making it worth their while, quickly summon the latter, and

when they come you can reinstate Heavy-Ear (in Chin), which will be advisable.' Duke Admirable approved this advice, and sent messengers to return with Great-Earrest and summon the two men, but they and others, suspecting that Great-Earrest was a spy, told Even-we who slew him. His son Great-Leopard fled to Ch'in and said to Duke Admirable, 'The prince of Chin is unprincipled, his people do not love him, and he should be attacked.' Duke Admirable replied, 'If the people were really not well disposed to him, how could he put his great officials to death? The fact that he does so shows that he is in accord with them.' The duke did not follow Great-Leopard's advice, but employed him on secret service.

In the twelfth year Reed-Middle and Swamp-Friend of Ch'i state died. "In the Chin state there being a drought the people came to beg for grain;" but Great-Leopard advised duke Admirable not to give it, and to take advantage of the famine and attack them. Duke Admirable asked the advice of Duke-Grandson-Branch, who replied; 'Famine and abundance are events which occur alternately, we cannot but give them (grain).' Po-li-hsi being asked, replied, "'Even-we has done your Highness wrong, but what crime have his people committed?'" Thereupon (the duke) followed the advice of Po-li-hsi and Duke-Grandson-Branch, and decided to "give them corn," and the boats and carts which conveyed it "were seen following each other all the way in a continuous stream from Harmony to Crimson."²²

In the fourteenth year "Ch'in suffered from famine and begged Chin for grain." The ruler of Chin consulted with his officials assembled in conclave, and Kuo the archer said, 'Take advantage of the famine and attack them, and you will obtain a great success.' The ruler of Chin followed his advice.

In the fifteenth year he set his army in motion to attack Ch'in: duke Admirable despatched troops,

and telling Great-Leopard to command them, went himself to the battle; in the ninth month "on the day J-V, he fought a battle" with Even-we, duke Kind of Chin, "in the Han territory." The ruler of Chin left his army to contend for the mastery with (the duke of) Ch'in; "he turned round but his horses were impeded,"²³ and duke Admirable with his body-guard galloped in pursuit; they were unable to capture the prince of Chin, but were on the other hand surrounded by the Chin troops, who attacked and wounded duke Admirable; upon which the three hundred men who had feasted on the fine horse at the foot of mount Ch'i made a determined charge on the Chin troops, broke their circle, rescued duke Admirable, and on the other hand took the ruler of Chin prisoner. Some time ago duke Admirable had lost a fine horse, and the wild men living at the foot of mount Ch'i, had in a body taken and eaten it; they were more than three hundred in number, and the officials, who had thereupon arrested them, would have punished them according to law, but duke Admirable said, 'A gentleman will not harm any one for the sake of a beast, and I have heard it said that if a person eats the flesh of a fine horse and does not drink wine with it, it will injure him; so he gave them all wine and pardoned them. When these three hundred men heard that (the ruler of) Ch'in was attacking Chin, they all begged leave to follow him. They followed him, and seeing duke Admirable in difficulties, they all thrust with their spears, and fought to the death in order to show their gratitude for the kindness shown them about the horse which had been eaten. Accordingly duke Admirable returned with the ruler of Chin, who had been taken prisoner, and ordered fasts to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom (saying) that he would in the place of the ruler of Chin sacrifice to the god on high. The Son of Heaven of the Chou.

dynasty, hearing of this, said, 'The ruler of Chin is of the same clan as I, so I will beg for grace.' When the elder sister of Even-we, ruler of Chin, who was the wife of duke Admirable, heard the news, she put sackcloth on her head and waist, and walking bare-foot said, 'The wife and sister cannot help each other, for in so doing they will dishonour their lord's orders.' Duke Admirable said, 'That I have captured the ruler of Chin may be considered a feat, but now the Son of Heaven begs for grace on his behalf, and my wife is grieved.' He then made a treaty with the ruler of Chin, and consented to his return; "he changed his house" for a superior residence, and "gave him a banquet with seven times three victims;" in the eleventh month "he sent home" Even-we "ruler of Chin," who gave him the territory west of the Yellow river, and sent his eldest son, Groom, as a hostage to Ch'in. The duke of Ch'in married prince Groom to a daughter of the ducal line. At this time the Ch'in territory on the east extended to the river.

In the eighteenth year duke Mournful of Ch'i died.

In the twentieth year Ch'in destroyed (the states of) Beam and Buttercup.

In the twenty-second year Groom, prince of the ducal house of Chin, heard that the ruler of Chin was ill, and said, 'My mother's family is that (of the ruling family) of Beam, which Ch'in has destroyed. I have many brothers, and when the ruler dies, Ch'in is sure to detain me, while Chin, making light of my claims, will set up in my place as ruler some other son. Prince Groom then escaped, and went back to Chin.

In the twenty-third year duke Kind of Chin died, and prince Groom was put on the throne as ruler. (The duke of) Ch'in was angry about Groom's having absconded, so he sent to the Ch'u state for a prince

of the ducal family of Chin, Heavy-Ear, and gave him as wife the lady who had formerly been prince Groom's wife. Heavy-Ear at first refused, but afterwards accepted her. Duke Admirable gave him additional presents, and treated him generously.

In the twenty-fourth year, in spring (the duke of) Ch'in sent men to inform the principal officers of Chin that he wished to reinstate Heavy-Ear. (The men of) Chin having agreed to this, he sent an escort with Heavy-Ear. In the second month Heavy-Ear was put on the throne as ruler of Chin; this was duke Literary. He sent persons to kill prince Groom, who was known as duke Cherish. In the autumn of this year Girdle, younger brother of king Overtop of Chou, "by the aid of the Ti tribes, attacked the king, who left his kingdom and resided in Chêng,"

In the twenty-fifth year the king of Chou sent men to inform (the rulers of) Chin and Ch'in of his difficulties. Duke Admirable of Ch'in having come with an army to help duke Literary of Chin, reinstated king Overtop, and "killed Girdle," the king's younger brother.

In the twenty-eighth year duke Literary of Chin defeated Ch'u at Ch'êng-p'u.

In the thirtieth year duke Admirable helped duke Literary of Chin to besiege Chêng. (The earl of) Chêng sent a messenger to duke Admirable to say, 'The ruin of Chêng will be a boon for Chin. What is a gain for Chin is no advantage for Ch'in. Chin's strength is a cause of sorrow for Ch'in.' Duke Admirable then disbanded his troops and retired. Chin also disbanded her troops.

In the thirty-second year, in winter, duke Literary of Chin died. There was a man of Chêng who wished to sell his country to Ch'in, saying, 'I am in charge of one of the gates of the city, and Chêng might be taken by surprise.' Duke Admirable

having asked the advice of Cripple-Junior and Po-li-hsi, they replied, 'To pass through several states and traverse one thousand *li* in order to take people by surprise is seldom done successfully. Moreover, as there is a man ready to sell Chêng, how can you tell that there is not among the men of our country one who will inform Chêng of our affairs? It cannot be done.' Duke Admirable said, 'You know nothing about it. I have made up my mind.' He forthwith despatched an army, and ordered Senior-Hare-in-the-Moon, son of Po-li-hsi, and the sons of Cripple-Junior viz. West-Praying-Contrivance and White-B-C, to command the troops. On the day they started, Po-li-hsi and Cripple-Junior wept over the matter. Duke Admirable hearing of this was angry, and said, 'I despatch my troops, and you stop them by weeping. How is this?' The two old men replied, 'Your servants would not dare to stop your Highness' troops, but when they march, our sons go with them. Your servants are old, and if their return is delayed we are afraid we shall not see each other again; that is why we weep.' The two old men retired, and said to their sons, 'Your army will certainly be defeated in the Confusion defile.'

In the thirty-third year, in spring, the Ch'in troops went to the east to annex Chin territory, and as "they were passing the north gate of the capital of Chou, King-Grandson-Full of Chou said, 'The Ch'in soldiers are wanting in propriety. How can they escape defeat?' When the army came to Slippery, a merchant of Chêng who was trading, named Bowstring-High, was taking twelve cows to sell in (the city of) Chou," and when he saw the Ch'in troops he was afraid he would be killed or taken prisoner, so he offered them the cows, and said, 'We have heard that your great kingdom is going to destroy Chêng, so the ruler of Chêng has taken care to be well on his guard, and is prepared to defend

himself; he has sent me with twelve cows to cheer the army and its officers after their fatigues.' The three Ch'in generals said to each other, 'We were about to take Chêng by surprise, but Chêng is already on the alert, and if we go on we shall not attain our object.' "They destroyed Slippery," which was a town on the borders of Chin. At this time duke Literary of Chin was dead, but had not yet been buried. His eldest son, duke Overtop, was angry, and said, 'Ch'in has insulted me; though orphaned, she takes advantage of my being in mourning to destroy my town Slippery.' Then, "dyeing his mourning garb and waist-band black," he marched out his troops. Having cut off "the army of Ch'in at Confusion (defile)," he attacked, and completely "defeated it," so that not a single man escaped. "He made prisoners of the three Ch'in generals, and brought them back." The wife of duke Literary, who was a daughter of (the duke of) Ch'in, "interceded on behalf of the three captive Ch'in generals," and said, 'The hatred of duke Admirable against these three men penetrates to the marrow of his bones. I beg you will order them to be sent back in order that my sovereign may amuse himself by having them boiled. "The ruler of Chin consented to this," and sent back the three Ch'in generals; when they arrived, "duke Admirable, clothed in white garments," met them in the suburb, and, "turning towards the three men, wept, and said, 'It is because I did not follow the advice of Po-li-hsi and Cripple-Junior that I have subjected you three men to insult, for what fault have you committed?' " Strive with all your hearts to wipe out the disgrace without delay.' He then restored to the three men their titles and previous rank, further adding thereto, and treating them generously.

In the thirty-fourth year Trader-Officer, eldest son of the Ch'u ruler, murdered his father, king

Successful, and put himself in his place. Duke Admirable then again sent Senior-Hare-in-the-Moon and the others to lead the troops to attack Chin; "they fought at Drumming-Office," but the Ch'ins, not getting the advantage, drew off their forces and retired. The king of the Jungs sent From-Me to Ch'in; the ancestors of From-Me had been men of Chin; and he had gone to live in the Jung country, but could talk the Chin language. (The king of the Jungs) had heard of the wisdom of duke Admirable, and he had therefore sent From-Me to spy on Chin. Duke Admirable of Ch'in shewed him his palaces, his hoards, and collections. From-Me said, 'If it is by spirit agency that you have done all this, you have wearied the gods; if you have done it by human means you have distressed the people.' Duke Admirable, astonished, put to him the following question, 'The Middle Kingdom by the aid of the books of Poetry, History, Rites, Music, Laws and Measures,²⁴ administers government, but still there are occasional disturbances. Now the Jung barbarians have none of these aids. How do they keep order? Have they not also difficulties?' From-Me laughed and said, 'It is just these things which have created trouble in the Middle Kingdom. For when the most holy Yellow Emperor framed Rites and Music, Laws and Measures, he personally set an example and scarcely governed at all; but his descendants grow daily more haughty and depraved; the majesty of the laws and regulations are just hindrances, for the lower classes are so crushed and controlled by them that they are at their last extremity; while as for the so-called benevolence and justice, they simply dread what they may expect from their superiors; the relations between superiors and inferiors are those of strife and resentment, and there are mutual usurpations and murders which go on until whole families are destroyed. It has always been like this. But

the Jung barbarians do not act in this way ; superiors meet inferiors with sincerity and virtue, while the inferiors cherish feelings of loyalty and good faith in serving their superiors. The administration of a kingdom is like the government of the individual ; one does not know how government goes on, and that is truly the government of the holy man.' Duke Admirable then withdrew and "questioned Liao, recorder of the interior, as follows: 'I have heard that when a neighbouring kingdom possesses a holy man, it is a cause of anxiety for the rival kingdom. Now as From-Me is a sage, it is injurious for me. What should I do?' Liao, recorder of the interior, said, 'The king of the Jungs lives in a mean, obscure locality, and has never heard the music of the Middle Kingdom ; would your Highness try sending him some female musicians to deprive him of his strength of will? To From-Me make such proposals as will weaken his relations (with the king of the Jungs) ;' then keep him and do not send him back, in order that he may miss the period (fixed for his return) ; the king of the Jungs will be surprised, and is sure to suspect From-Me, and when prince and subject are at variance they may be made prisoners. Besides if the king of the Jungs is fond of music, he will certainly neglect his government.' Duke Admirable said, 'That is good.' He placed From-Me on a mat next his own, passed the dishes for his dinner, and asked him about the geography of his country, and its military strength, enquiring minutely into everything. He then directed Liao, recorder of the interior, to present two troops of eight female musicians to the king of the Jungs, who accepted them, and amused himself with them, and at the end of a whole year they had not been sent back. After this Ch'in sent back From-Me, and the latter addressed several admonitions (to the king of the Jungs), but he paid no heed to them. Duke

Admirable also sent several messengers to set From-Me at loggerheads with the king, and invite him over; he accordingly departed and gave his allegiance to Ch'in. Duke Admirable treated him with the ceremony due to an honoured guest, and questioned him as to the best method of attacking the Jungs.

In the thirty-sixth year duke Admirable conferred additional honours on Senior-Bright and his friends, and sent them at the head of an army "to attack Chin. They crossed the river, burned their boats," and having severely defeated the men of Chin, "took the towns of Kings-Officer and Hao," thereby revenging themselves for the affair at Confusion defile. "The men of Chin" all kept within the walls, and "did not dare to come out." Whereupon duke Admirable "himself crossed the river at Rushford, raised mounds over the corpses in Confusion defile," ordered a public funeral in their honour, and mourned for them three days. He then "made a speech to his army as follows: 'Ho! officers and soldiers! listen to me, and do not shout. I have a solemn announcement to make to you. The ancients took counsel of old men with yellow or white hairs, and so were free from error.'" It is in order to declare my thoughts as to not having followed the counsels of Cripple-Junior and Po-li-hsi that I make this solemn harangue. Now let prosperity record this my fault.'²⁵ The gentlemen on hearing this all began to shed tears and said, 'Ah! surely duke Admirable of Ch'in "has entire knowledge of men," and has indeed "good luck" in securing Senior-Bright.'

In the thirty-seventh year Ch'in, following From-Me's advice, attacked the king of the Jungs, added twelve kingdoms to his realm, opened up a territory of one thousand *li* in extent, and so became chieftain of the western Jungs. The son of Heaven sent Pass,

duke of Call, to congratulate duke Admirable and make him a present of a metal gong.

In the thirty-ninth year duke Admirable died and was buried at Harmony. There were buried alive with him one hundred and seventy-seven persons, and "among them were three worthy officers of Ch'in, sons of viscount Carriage, named Bury-Cease, Centre-Row, and Needle-Tiger. The men of Ch'in bewailed them and composed a song, which is the Ode called 'The Yellow Birds.'²⁶ The sage says, duke Admiral of Ch'in" enlarged his territory and added to his kingdom. On the east he subdued the powerful state of Chin; on the west he became chieftain of the Jung barbarians, yet "he never presided at the princes' covenants. This indeed was right, but at his death he threw away the lives of his people, and retained his worthy subjects that they might be buried alive with him. Now when the ancient kings died, they still in all probability left behind virtuous men, thus transmitting an example to posterity; and, besides, to snatch away (the lives of) good men and excellent citizens," is that not a thing which the people would bewail? "Thus one may know that Ch'in could not again make an expedition to the East."

Duke Admirable had forty sons. The eldest, Canister, ruled in his place; this was duke Prosperous.

In the first year of duke Prosperous (the following is recorded). In the year before, which was that in which duke Admirable died, duke Overtop of Chin died also. The younger brother of duke Overtop, named Harmony, who was a son of Ch'in, was then in Ch'in territory; Hasten-Shield of Chin, wishing to make him ruler, desired Follow-Together to ask Harmony to come, and to go and meet him; and the Ch'in people escorted him with soldiers as far as Order-Fox. (The men of) Chin set up as ruler the son of duke Overtop, and turning against the Ch'in

troops fought with and defeated them; Follow-Together, too, came to take refuge (in the Ch'in country).

In the second year "Ch'in attacked Chin at War-town, and took their revenge for the affair at Order-Fox."

In the fourth year "Chin attacked Ch'in and took (the town of) Few-Beams."

In the sixth year "Ch'in attacked Chin and took Bridle-Horse. A battle was fought at River-Bend," and the Chin troops sustained a severe defeat. "The men of Chin were afraid that Follow-Together while living in Ch'in" would create trouble, "so they sent Enemy-Surplus of Wei to pretend there was a revolt," and to confer with Follow-Together; by this trick they secured the latter, who thereupon returned to Chin.

Duke Prosperous, having ruled twelve years, died, and his son duke Reverent became ruler.

In the second year of duke Reverent, "Hasten-Bore of Chin murdered his sovereign duke Intelligent."

In the third year king Grave of Ch'u, having become powerful, came northward with his army "as far as the Lo river, and enquired about the tripods" of Chou.

Duke Reverent having ruled five years, died, and his son duke Mournful became ruler.

In the third year of duke Mournful, Chin defeated one of our generals.

In the tenth year king Grave of Ch'u subdued Chêng. In the north he defeated the army of Chin on the banks of the Yellow river. At this time (the ruler of) Ch'u was president of the states; he held a general meeting and made a treaty with the lords.

In the twenty-fourth year duke Cruel of Chin came to the throne; on the bank of the river he met and made a treaty with duke Mournful of Ch'in; after their return Ch'in broke the treaty and entered

into alliance with the Ti tribes with the view of attacking Chin.

In the twenty-sixth year the ruler of Chin, at the head of the lords, attacked Ch'in; the army of Ch'in was defeated and put to flight; (Chin) pursued it as far as the Ching river and then returned.

Duke Mournful, after ruling twenty-seven years, died, and his son duke Prospect became ruler.

In the fourth year of duke Prospect "Marriage-Contract of Chin murdered his sovereign duke Cruel."

In the fifteenth year (duke Prospect) came "to the rescue of Chêng, and defeated the troops of Chin at Scrub-oak." At this time duke Pity of Chin presided over the assembly of princes.

In the eighteenth year duke Pity of Chin, who was powerful and had often assembled the princes, put himself at their head in order "to attack Ch'in;" the Ch'in troops were defeated and fled; the Chin army pursued, "crossed the Ching river, came to Scrub-Oak forest, and then went back."

In the twenty-seventh year duke Prospect entered the Chin state, made a treaty with duke Peace, but afterwards broke it.

In the thirty-sixth year Circle, son of a duke of Ch'u, murdered his sovereign and put himself on the throne; this was king Intelligent. The younger brother of duke Prospect, born of the same mother, "the prince Needle, had been a favourite (of his father)," and was rich; some one calumniated him, and fearing to be killed "he fled for refuge to Chin; taking with him one thousand carts" heavily laden. Duke Peace of Chin said to him, 'Prince, rich as you are, why take to flight?' He replied, "The duke of Ch'in is unprincipled," and I am afraid of being killed. "I will await his successor," and then return.'

In the thirty-ninth year king Intelligent of Ch'u, being powerful, "assembled the princes at T," and

presided over the meeting. "He killed Lucky-Fief of Ch'i."

Duke Prospect having reigned forty years, died, and his son, duke Grief, became ruler. "The prince (Needle) returned to Ch'in."

In the eighth year of duke Grief, Expel-Sickness, son of a duke of Ch'u, murdered king Intelligent, and became ruler; this was king Peace.

In the eleventh year king Peace of Ch'u came to seek a girl of Ch'in as a wife for his eldest son Establish. When she arrived in his state the girl pleased him, and he married her himself.²⁷

In the fifteenth year king Peace of Ch'u wanted to kill Establish, but he fled. Five-Sons-Aid took refuge in the Wu state. The ducal house of Chin being in a low condition, the six high dignitaries became powerful, and wanted to carry on mutual raids in each other's countries; and therefore for a long time Ch'in and Chin did not attack each other.

In the thirty-first year, Paradise-Gate, king of Wu, and Five-Sons-Aid, attacked Ch'u. The king of Ch'u fled and took refuge at Follow (town), so (the king of) Wu was able to enter Ying. The high officer of Ch'u, "T-Enfold-Aid came to beg for succour; for seven days he ate nothing," and wept day and night; "Ch'in then sent five hundred carts to succour" Ch'u; he defeated the army of Wu, which retired. "King Luminous of Ch'u was then able to re-enter Ying."

Duke Grief, after ruling thirty-six years, died. His eldest son was duke Even, but he died prematurely, so was unable to be ruler, and the son of duke Even became ruler; this was duke Kind.

In the first year of duke Kind, Confucius²⁸ acted as prime minister of Lu.

In the fifth year Middle-Row and Pattern, high officials of Chin, revolted against (the ruler of) Chin,

who sent Clever and Hasten-Easy to attack them ; Pattern and Middle-Row fled for refuge to Ch'i.

Duke Kind, having ruled ten years, died ; his son, duke Pity, became ruler.

In the second year of duke Pity, Field-Pray, a subject of Ch'i, murdered his ruler Baby, and made Male-Birth, elder brother of the latter, ruler ; he was known as duke Pity.

In the sixth year Wu defeated the Ch'i troops ; "the men of Ch'i murdered duke Pity," and made his son duke Easy ruler.

In the ninth year duke Fix of Chin made a treaty with Hero-Error, king of Wu ; "they disputed about precedence at Yellow Pool ; and in the end Wu took the lead" ; Wu, being powerful, insulted the Middle Kingdom.

In the twelfth year Field-Usual of Ch'i murdered duke Easy, and made his younger brother duke Peace ruler ; Field-Usual was his counsellor.

In the thirteenth year "Ch'u extinguished Ch'en."

Duke Pity of Ch'in, after ruling fourteen years, died, and his son, duke Cruel-Reverent, became ruler. Confucius died in the twelfth year of duke Pity.

In the second year of duke Cruel-Reverent, the Silkworm men come to offer presents.

In the sixteenth year a trench was dug on the bank of the river. With an army of twenty thousand Great-Li was attacked, and King-town taken from it.

In the twenty-first year the magistracy of Shore-South was inaugurated. Chin took War-Successful town.

In the twenty-fourth year there were troubles in Chin ; earl Clever was killed, and his territory divided into Chao, Han, and Wei principalities.

In the twenty-fifth year Clever-Open and his townsmen came seeking refuge.

In the thirty-third year Public-Drain was attacked and its king captured.

In the thirty-fourth year there was an eclipse of the sun. Duke Cruel-Reverent died, and his son, duke Violent, became ruler.

In the second year of duke Violent southern Chêng revolted.

In the thirteenth year the Public-Drain men who came to attack us, got as far as the south bank of the Wei river.

In the fourteenth year duke Violent died, and his younger brother, duke Cherish, was made ruler.

In the fourth year of duke Cherish, the *shuchang* Sea-Toad and his principal officers, besieged duke Cherish, who killed himself. The eldest son of duke Cherish, called prince Luminous, had died prematurely, so the high officers made the son of prince Luminous, the heir-apparent, ruler; this was duke Intelligent, and he was the grandson of duke Cherish.

In the sixth year of duke Intelligent, Chin built a wall round Few-Beams, and Ch'in attacked it.

In the thirteenth year Register-Girls town was fortified; duke Intelligent died; his son, duke Offer, could not obtain the throne, so prince Pity, uncle of duke Intelligent, was made ruler; this was duke Easy; he was the younger brother of prince Luminous and son of duke Cherish.

In the sixth year of duke Easy it was ordered that officers should for the first time carry swords. Trenches were dug at Lo town and Double-Springs.

In the sixteenth year the duke died; his son, duke Kind, became ruler.

In the twelfth year of duke Kind his son, prince Go was born.

In the thirteenth year he attacked the Silkworm country and took South-Chêng. Duke Kind died, and prince Go became ruler.

In the second year of Prince Go the *shuchang* Change went to meet duke Offer, son of duke

Intelligent, on the west of the Yellow river, and make him ruler ; he killed prince Go and his mother, drowning them at the edge of a pond. Latterly Ch'in had often changed its ruler ; rulers and subjects had on these occasions created troubles ; consequently Chin again became powerful, and seized from Ch'in the lands west of the river.

In the first year of duke Offer human sacrifices at funerals were stopped.

In the second year they built a wall round Scrub-Oak-South.

In the fourth year, first month, day G-N, duke Dutiful was born.

In the eleventh year Load, grand historian of Chou, visited duke Offer, and said, 'In ancient times the Chous were in amity with the kingdom of Ch'in ; they separated, and after five hundred years of separation, they will be again united, and after seventy-seven years of reunion an autocratic king will appear.'

In the sixteenth year a peach-tree blossomed in winter.

In the eighteenth year it rained metal at Scrub-Oak-South.

In the twenty-first year (Ch'in) fought a battle against Chin at Stone-Gate when sixty thousand persons were beheaded ; the son of Heaven congratulated him, and gave him a robe ornamented with the axe and Greek-key pattern.²⁹

In the twenty-third year (Ch'in) fought against Wei and Chin at Few-Beams, and captured their general, Duke-Grandson-Seat.

In the twenty-fourth year duke Offer died, and his son, duke Dutiful became ruler, he was then twenty-one years old.

In the first year of duke Dutiful there were to the east of the river and the mountains six powerful kingdoms,³⁰ viz. (king) Majestic of Ch'i, (king)

Proclaim of Ch'u, (king) Kind of Wei, (duke) Pity of Yen, (marquis) Grief of Han, and marquis Successful of Chao. Between the Huai and Ssü rivers there were more than ten small states. The boundaries of Ch'u and Wei were contiguous to Ch'in; Wei had built a great wall from Chêng state along the bank of the Lo river northwards, and held the upper commandery. Ch'u extended from Hanchung southward, possessing the Python and Mid Black countries. The house of Chou was weak, and the princes governed by force, fought and annexed each other's territories. Ch'in held herself aloof in the province of Harmony, did not join in the assemblies of the princes of the Middle Kingdom, and was treated like the I and Ti tribes. Duke Dutiful then dispensed his favours, relieved the fatherless and widows, and calling up the fighting men, rewarded them for their brilliant achievements; he issued the following ordinance throughout the kingdom: 'Formerly my (ancestor) duke Admirable, starting from the Ch'i and Harmony districts, practised virtue and made war; in the east he overcame the Chin rebellion, making the Yellow river his boundary; in the west he became the suzerain of the Jung and Ti tribes, and enlarged his territory by one thousand *li*; the son of Heaven made him president of the states, and the princes all congratulated him; he founded an inheritance for his descendants, and his reputation was most glorious. However, my ancestors, the dukes Cruel, Violent, and Easy, and prince Go were not peaceable; and the kingdom being distressed internally, there was no time to attend to foreign affairs. The triple Chin state attacked and took the territory west of the Yellow river, which had belonged to our ancient sovereigns; the princes despised Ch'in, and there could be no greater shame than that. When duke Offer became ruler he guarded and tranquilized the frontier, moved the seat of government to Scrub-

Oak-South, and further wished to make an attack in the east so as to recover the ancient lands of duke Admirable, and restore his government and ordinances. I, the lone man, think and cogitate over the intentions of the ancient sovereigns, and am constantly grieved at heart. If among my guests or subjects there is any one able to evolve a plan to make Ch'in powerful, I will give him an honorable post, and allot him a territory.' Upon this the duke despatched troops which in the east besieged the town of Shên, and in the west beheaded king Ape of the Jung tribes. Guard-Halter, hearing that this ordinance had been issued, went westward and, entering the Ch'in state, asked through Prospect-Survey for an audience of duke Dutiful.

In the second year the son of Heaven sent sacrificial meats.

In the third year Guard-Halter advised duke Dutiful to change the laws and revise the penal code, internally, to encourage tillage and the sowing of crops, and externally to stimulate by a system of rewards and punishments those who were ready to fight till they died. Duke Dutiful approved this advice, but Sweet-Dragon, Stop-Grab, and others objected, and combined to contest the point, but finally Guard-Halter's laws were put in execution; although the people suffered (at first), at the end of three years they benefitted thereby, and Guard-Halter was appointed left *shuchang*. These matters are recorded in the section referring to the prince of Shang.

In the seventh year the duke met king Kind of Wei at Stop-Peace.

In the eighth year the duke fought a battle against Wei at First-Village, and was successful.

In the tenth year Guard-Halter, who was chief *liang-tsao*, with an army besieged Quiet, a town of Wei, and took it.

In the twelfth year the duke built All-Male and constructed towers of hope;³¹ the capital of Ch'in was transferred thither; all the small villages and hamlets were combined into large districts, over each of which a magistrate was appointed, and there were forty-one magistracies. To form fields they raised perpendicular and horizontal paths. On the east the territory crossed the river Lo.

In the fourteenth year taxes were first levied.

In the nineteenth year the Son of Heaven gave the duke the rank of president of the states.

In the twentieth year the princes all congratulated the duke of Ch'in, who sent duke Few-Officers to go at the head of an army and assemble the princes at Receive-Favour, and to have an audience of the Son of Heaven.

In the twenty-first year Ch'i defeated Wei at Horse-mound.

In the twenty-second year Guard-Halter attacked Wei, and captured Majestic, son of the duke of Wei. Guard-Halter was given the rank of marquis, and designated ruler of Shang.

In the twenty-fourth year Ch'in fought against Chin at Goose-Gate and captured their general, Sublime-Error. Duke Dutiful died, and his son Kind-Literary prince came to the throne. In the same year Grand-Halter was put to death. When formerly Grand-Halter instituted a code of laws for the state of Ch'in these laws were not observed, for the heir-apparent broke the prohibitions. Guard-Halter said, 'The fact of the laws not being observed originates from those high in rank and related to your Highness. Should you really wish the laws to be enforced, first apply them to the heir-apparent.' As the heir-apparent could not be branded the punishment devolved on his tutor; and from that time the laws were generally enforced, and the people of Ch'in were well governed. But when

duke Dutiful died, and the heir-apparent came to the throne, as many of the royal house hated Guard-Halter he fled; consequently he was proscribed as a rebel, and eventually was drawn asunder by carts, and so sacrificed himself in the interest of the Ch'in state.

In the first year of Kind-Literary prince, the Ch'u, Han, Chao, and Silkworm men came to do homage (to Ch'in).

In the second year the son of Heaven sent his congratulations.

In the third year the king (of Ch'in) donned the cap of manhood.

In the fourth year the son of Heaven sent (to Ch'in) meats used in sacrifices to kings Literary and Martial. (The rulers of) Ch'i and Wei took the title of kings.

In the fifth year Rhinoceros-Head, a man of Secret-Chin was made chief *liang-tsao*.

In the sixth year Wei presented us with the town of Secret-Chin, the name of which was changed to Tranquil-Ch'in.

In the seventh year prince Majestic fought against Wei, captured its general Dragon-Price, and beheaded eighty thousand men.

In the eighth year Wei presented us with the territory west of the Yellow river.

In the ninth year (Ch'in) crossed the River, seized Divide-Secret and Skin-Clan, met the king of Wei at Reply, besieged Scorch and took it.

In the tenth year Display-Rules was prime minister of Ch'in: Wei presented us with the fifteen districts of upper commandery.

In the eleventh year a magistracy was established at Public-Drain, Scorch and Bending-Sleek being handed over to Wei. The ruler of Public-Drain acknowledged himself a subject, and the name of Few-Beams was changed to Summer-Male.

In the twelfth year the winter solstice sacrifice was first instituted.

In the thirteenth year, fourth month, E-R day, the ruler of Wei took the title of king; and Han also did the same. Display-Rules being ordered to attack and take Gorge, drove out the inhabitants and sent them to Wei.

The fourteenth year was altered, and reckoned the first year.

In the second year Display-Rules met the chief officers of Ch'i and Ch'u at Creaking-Mulberry.

In the third year the heirs-apparent of Han and Wei came to pay homage (to Ch'in), and Display-Rules became prime minister of Wei.

In the fifth year the king went on a journey to North river.

In the seventh year Music-Pool became prime minister of Ch'in. Han, Chao, Wei, Yen, and Ch'i troops, and the Hsiung-nu tribes, conjointly attacked Ch'in; Ch'in bade the *shu-chang* Urgent give them battle at Culture-Fish. He captured their general T-Fault, defeated Thirst, prince of Chao, and Handsome, heir-apparent of Han, and beheaded eighty-two thousand men.

In the eighth year Display-Rules was again prime minister of Ch'in.

In the ninth year War-Minister-Error attacked Silkworm state, and destroyed it. Centre-Capital and West-Male, (towns of) Chao, were attacked and taken.

In the tenth year Azure, heir-apparent of Han, came as a hostage (to Ch'in). Stone-Dyke of Han was attacked and taken, Mud, the general of Chao, attacked and defeated, and twenty-five towns of Public-Drain territory attacked and taken.

In the eleventh year Ailanthus-Village-Urgent attacked Scorch (a town) of Wei, and reduced it, and defeated Han at Crag-gate, cutting off ten thousand

heads, when their general Rhinoceros-Head fled. Prince Through was given the fief of Silkworm. The ruler of Yen abdicated in favour of his subject Son-It.

In the twelfth year the king (of Ch'in) met the king of Beam at Lin-chin. The *shu-chang* Urgent attacked Chao, and captured their general Grave. Display-Rules became prime minister of Ch'u.

In the thirteenth year the *shu-chang* Dyke fought against Ch'u at Vermilion-South, captured their general Crooked-Beggar, and beheaded eighty thousand men. He again attacked Ch'u at Han-Centre, and took six hundred *li* of territory, establishing the commandery of Han-Centre. Ch'u besieged Harmony-Clan. Ch'in sent the *shu-chang* Urgent to assist Han, and in the east to attack Ch'i. Arrive-Full helped Wei to attack Yen.

In the fourteenth year (Ch'in) attacked Ch'u, and took Call-Mound. Vermilion and Plough declared themselves subjects of the Silkworm country. The prime minister Strong killed the marquis of Silkworm, and came to render allegiance. King Kind died. His son king Martial came to the throne. Han, Wei, Ch'i, Ch'u and Yue all acknowledged their subjection (to Ch'in).

In the first year of his reign king Martial met king Kind of Wei at Lin-chin. Strong, prime minister of Silkworm, was slain. Display-Rules and Wei-Dyke both left (Ch'in) on the east and went to Wei. Public-Drain, Vermilion, and Plough were attacked.

In the second year counsellors of state were appointed for the first time. Ailanthus-Village-Urgent and Sweet-Luxuriance were made first and second counsellors of state. Display Rules died in the Wei country.

In the third year (king Martial) met king Overtop of Han outside the town of Lin-chin. South-Duke-Raise died. Ailanthus-Village-Urgent became prime

minister of Han. King Martial said to Sweet-Luxuriance, 'I would in a curtained cart go through to the Three Streams country and have a peep at the palace of the Chous, when if I died I should not mind.' In the autumn of this year Sweet-Luxuriance and the *shu-chang* Appanage were sent to attack I-yang.

In the fourth year (king Martial) took I-yang beheaded sixty thousand people, crossed the river and fortified War-Follow. The heir-apparent of Wei came to render homage. King Martial was strong and fond of games, and strong men like Office-Mean, Bird-Catcher, and Senior-Happy were all made high officials; (it happened that) the king when lifting a tripod with Senior-Happy, broke his knee-cap, and in the eighth month king Martial died, so Senior-Happy was destroyed with all his family. King Martial had taken a daughter of Wei as his queen but she had no sons, so his younger brother, born of another mother, came to the throne. This was king Luminous-Overtop, whose mother was a woman of Ch'u, her clan name being Baa, and her title queen dowager Proclaim. When king Martial died, king Luminous-Overtop was a hostage in the Yen country and the men of Yen having escorted him back, he was thus enabled to ascend the throne.

In the first year of king Luminous-Overtop Urgent, prince of Stern, became prime minister, and Sweet-Luxuriance went away to the Wei state.

In the second year a comet was seen. The *shu-chang* Strong with the chief ministers, lords, and feudal princes having rebelled, were all slain; they, with the wife of king Kind-Literary, all died a violent death; the queen of king Pity-War left (Ch'in), and went over to Wei.

In the third year the king donned the cap of manhood. He met the king of Ch'u at Yellow Thicket, and gave to Ch'u Upper-Employ town.

In the fourth year he took Rush-Bank. A comet appeared.

In the fifth year the king of Wei came to do homage at Reply-Pavilion, and (Ch'in) restored Rush-Bank to Wei.

In the sixth year Brilliant, marquis of Silkworm, revolted. Minister of War Error conquered the Silkworm country. The *shu-chang* Handsome attacked Ch'u, and beheaded twenty thousand people. The prince of Ching-Male went as a hostage to Ch'i. The sun was eclipsed, and it was dark in the daytime.

In the seventh year New-Town was taken, and Ailanthus-Village-Son died.

In the eighth year (Ch'in) sent general Baa-Jung to attack Ch'u; and he took New Mart. Ch'i sent Dyke-Son, Wei sent Duke-Grandson-Joy, and Han sent Fierce-Kite, who conjointly attacked Ch'u at Square-Town, and took Boast-Dusk prisoner. Chao destroyed Central-Hills, and the ruler of that state fled, and eventually died in Ch'i. Hard of the ducal family of Wei, and Long of the ducal family of Han, became feudal princes.

In the ninth year Southernwood-Literary, prince of Senior-Taste, came as prime minister to Ch'in. Handsome attacked Ch'u, took eight towns, and killed their general Prospect-Quick.

In the tenth year king Cherish of Ch'u came to pay homage to Ch'in, and Ch'in detained him. Southernwood-Literary was dismissed on account of Gold-Receive, and Tower-Slow became counsellor of state.

In the eleventh year the five states of Ch'i, Han, Wei, Chao, Sung, and Central-Hills combined to attack Ch'in; they came as far as Salt-Family, and then returned. Ch'in gave to Han and Wei the territories of River-North and Appanage-Mound in order to secure peace. A comet appeared. King

Cherish of Ch'ü fled to Chao, but as he was not received there, he returned to Ch'in, where he died, and his corpse was sent back to Ch'ü for interment.

In the twelfth year Tower-Slow was dismissed from his post. Sublime-Advance, marquis of Plenty, became prime minister, and Ch'ü was given fifty thousand measures of corn.

In the thirteenth year Facing-Oldage attacked Han, and took War-Begin. The *tso-kêng* White-Rise attacked New Town. The *wu-ta-fu* Ceremony left the country and fled to Wei. Officer-Mean became governor of Han-Centre.

In the fourteenth year the *tso-kêng* White-Rise attacked Han and Wei at That-Defect, beheaded two hundred and forty thousand people, took Duke-Grandson-Joy prisoner, and captured five towns.

In the fifteenth year the *ta-liang-tsao* White-Rise attacked Wei, and took Wall, which town was given back (to Wei). (Ch'in) attacked Ch'ü and took Yield.

In the sixteenth year the *tso-kêng* Error took Chih and Têng. Eminent-Advance was dismissed. Yield was given in fief to prince Market, Têng to prince Sad, and T'ao to Eminent-Advance, and (all three) became feudal princes.

In the seventeenth year the ruler of Fort-Male came to court; then the prince of the eastern Chous came to pay homage. Ch'in gave the name of Wall to the towns of Rush-Bank and Skin-Family. The king went to I-yang.

In the eighteenth year Error attacked Wall and River-Harmony. He cut the bridges and took (the towns).

In the nineteenth year the king took the title of emperor of the west, and (the king of) Ch'i that of emperor of the east; but both titles were afterwards given up. Spine-Ceremony came to render allegiance.

Ch'i destroyed Sung, and the king of Sung lived in Wei, and died at Warm-town. Office-Mean died.

In the twentieth year the king went to Han-Centre; then he went to Upper commandery and the North river.

In the twenty-first year Error attacked the Cis-River territory belonging to Wei; Wei presented us with Rest-town; Ch'in expelled the inhabitants, and invited the River-East people to move thither. After bestowing titles and pardoning criminals he transported the people there. The ruler of Ching-Male received (the town of) Yield in fief.

In the twenty-second year Dull-War attacked Ch'i. Out of River-East territory nine magistracies were formed. (The king of Ch'in) met the king of Ch'u at Yield, and the king of Chao at Centre-Male.

In the twenty-third year Major Split-Apart, in conjunction with triple Chin and Yen, attacked the men of Ch'i, and defeated them on the west of the Chi river. The king met the king of Wei at I-yang, and the king of Han at New-Town.

In the twenty-fourth year (the king) met the king of Ch'u at Yen; he met him again at Plenty. Ch'in took from Wei Rest-Town. He advanced to Great Beam; but Yen and Chao came to the rescue, and the Ch'in army retired. Sublime-Advance was dismissed from the post of prime minister.

In the twenty-fifth year (Ch'in) took two towns from Chao. (The king of Ch'in) met the king of Han at New-town, and the king of Wei at New-Bright-Town.

In the twenty-sixth year criminals were pardoned and transported to Plenty; marquis Sublime-Advance became prime minister again.

In the twenty-seventh year Error attacked Ch'u. Criminals were pardoned and transported to South-Male. White-Rise attacked Chao and took the town of Brilliant-Wolf in Age country. (Ch'in) then ordered

Minister of War Error to start from Embankment-West, and going through the Silkworm country to attack Black-Centre of Ch'u, he took it.

In the twenty-eighth year the *ta-liang-tsao* White-Rise attacked Ch'u, and took Yen and Têng. Pardoned criminals were transported there.

In the twenty-ninth year the *ta-liang-tsao* White-Rise attacked Ch'u, took Ying, and made it the South commandery. The king of Ch'u fled. The sovereign of the Chous arrived. The king met the king of Ch'u at Overtop-Mound. White-Rise was made prince of War-Rest.

In the thirtieth year, If, the governor of the Silkworm (country) attacked and took Wizard commandery and River-South, and with them formed the Black-Centre commandery.

In the thirty-first year White-Rise attacked Wei, and took two towns. The men of Ch'u revolted against us in the River-South country.

In the thirty-second year the prime minister, marquis of Plenty, attacked Wei. He came to Great-Beam, defeated Fierce-Kite, and beheaded forty thousand people, and Fierce-Kite fled. Wei gave up three districts and demanded peace.

In the thirty-third year the foreign dignitary, Mongol-Hurt, attacked Roll, Plant-Male, and Long-Shrine, towns of Wei, and took them. He fought against Barley-Shoot and defeated him at Flower-Male; he beheaded one hundred and fifty thousand people. Wei gave up South-Male to obtain peace.

In the thirty-fourth year Ch'in gave to Wei the Upper-Employ territory belonging to Han, so that a commandery might be formed there. The South-Male men, who had declined to be subjects, were sent to reside there.

In the thirty-fifth year help was given to Han, Wei, and Ch'u to attack Yen. The South-Male commandery was for the first time established.

In the thirty-sixth year the foreign dignitary, Hearth, attacked Ch'i, and took Firm and Longevity, which towns were ceded to the marquis of Plenty.

In the thirty-eighth year the *chung-kêng* Mongol-Hurt attacked Stop-Gift, a town of Chao, but could not take it.

In the fortieth year the heir-apparent Pity died in the Wei country, and his corpse was sent back for interment at Iris-Male.

In the forty-first year in summer (Ch'in) attacked Wei, and took Hsing Hillock and Cherish.

In the forty-second year the prince of Rest-Kingdom was made heir-apparent. In the tenth month the queen dowager Proclaim died, and was buried at Iris-Male, on mount Li. In the ninth month the marquis of Plenty left (the capital), and went to Kilns.

In the forty-third year White-Rise, prince of War-Rest, attacked Han, took nine towns and beheaded fifty thousand people.

In the forty-fourth year the commandery of South belonging to Han was attacked and taken.

In the forty-fifth year the *wu-ta-fu* Valorous attacked Han, and took ten of her towns. Sad of Leaf-Male left (the capital) to go to his country, but died before he reached it.

In the forty-seventh year Ch'in attacked Upper-Faction (a territory) of Han; Upper-Faction surrendered to Chao, whereupon Ch'in attacked Chao. Chao sent soldiers to fight against Ch'in, and (the two armies) opposed each other. Ch'in directed White-Rise, prince of War-Rest, to engage, (and he) severely defeated Chao at Long-Peace, when more than four hundred thousand people were put to death.

In the forty-eighth year, tenth month, Han presented (Ch'in) with the town of Wall-Harmony. The Ch'in troops were divided into three battalions.

The prince of War-Rest returned, and King-Gnaw took the command. He attacked War-Rest and Skin-Stable, towns of Chao, and took them. The War-Minister, Thorny, subdued in the north Great-Plain, and (Ch'in) possessed the whole of Upper-Faction territory (which had belonged to) Han. In the first month the soldiers were disbanded; then they were sent to hold Upper-Faction. In this tenth month the *wu-ta-fu* Mound attacked Han-tan, (a town) of Chao.

In the forty-ninth year, first month, more troops were sent to assist Mound; but as he did not conduct the fighting properly, he was dismissed, and King-Gnaw took command instead. In this tenth month general Display-Boast attacked Wei. As Plenty-Captain had retreated and not held his post, he was recalled and executed.

In the fiftieth year, tenth month, White-Rise, prince of War-Rest, was condemned, reduced to the ranks, and deported to Secrecy. Display-Boast attacked Chêng, and took it. In the twelfth month additional troops were sent to encamp near the town of Fên. White-Rise, prince of War-Rest, was condemned and died. (King)-Gnaw attacked Han-tan, but was unable to take it, and retreated; he came back and fled to the camp at Fên. More than two months afterwards (Ch'in) attacked the army of Chin, and beheaded six thousand people. Twenty thousand refugees from Chin fell into the river and were drowned. (Ch'in) attacked the town of Fên, and starting from Boast took Calm-New-Centre. The name of Calm-New-Centre was changed to Rest-Male. For the first time a bridge was made over the Yellow river.

In the fifty-first year general Disturb attacked Han, took Carry-Millet (near) Male-town, and beheaded forty thousand people. He attacked Chao, took more than twenty magistracies, and killed or

took prisoners ninety thousand men. The prince of the Western Chous opposed Ch'in, and entering into a league with the princes, marched at the head of the picked troops of the empire by way of That-Defect to attack Ch'in, and to arrange that Ch'in should have no communications with Male-Town; Ch'in then sent general Disturb to attack Western Chou, whose prince fled, and coming of his own accord to submit, prostrated himself with his head to the ground, and acknowledged his fault; he presented all his towns, to the number of thirty-six, and containing thirty thousand inhabitants, to the king of Ch'in, who accepted the offer, and sent the prince back to Chou.

In the fifty-second year the men of Chou fled to the east, and their utensils, with the nine tripods,³² came into the possession of Ch'in; and the Chous were then for the first time ruined.

In the fifty-third year the whole empire came to render allegiance. Wei came late, so Ch'in sent Disturb to attack Wei, and he took Brag town. The king of Han came to pay homage. Wei abandoned their kingdom to Ch'in, and obeyed orders.

In the fifty-fourth year the king personally offered the *chia* sacrifice to the god on high at Harmony.

In the fifty-sixth year, in autumn, king Luminous-Overtop died, and his son, king Dutiful-Literary came to the throne. He honoured the *pa-tzū* Boast by giving her the title of queen-dowager Boast, and buried her in the same grave as the king his predecessor. The king of Han wearing sackcloth and a mourning-scarf came to condole and offer the ancestral sacrifices; all the princes sent their generals or prime ministers to offer condolences and ancestral sacrifices, and a general mourning was announced.

In the first of his reign king Dutiful-Literary pardoned the criminals, honoured the subjects who had done meritorious service during the late reign,

gave honours and dignities to his near relations, and reduced the number of his parks and paddocks. King Dutiful-Literary put off his mourning apparel in the tenth month on the day F-W, and three days after he had ascended the throne, on the day H-M, he died. His son, king Grave-Overtop, came to the throne.

In the first year of his reign king Grave-Overtop proclaimed a general pardon to criminals, honoured those subjects who had been meritorious in former reigns, bestowed his favours and dignities on his near relations, and distributed his kindnesses on his people. The prince of eastern Chou, with the lords, plotted against (the king of) Ch'in, who sent his state-counsellor, Spine-No-Thong, to slay him and annex the whole of his kingdom. Ch'in did not put a stop to the ancestral sacrifices, but conferred on the prince of Chou the territory of Bright-Men, so that he could offer ancestral sacrifices. (Ch'in) sent Dull-Stubborn to attack Han; and Han gave up Perfect-Marsh and Secure when the frontier of Ch'in extended as far as Great-Beam. Three-Streams (commandery) was established for the first time.

In the second year Dull-Stubborn being sent to attack Chao, subdued Great-Plain.

In the third year Dull-Stubborn attacked the Wei towns of High-Capital and Imbibe and took them; he attacked Elm-Next, New-Town, and Wolf-Senior towns of Chao, and took thirty-seven towns. In the fourth month there was an eclipse of the sun.

In the fourth year king Knaw attacked Upper-Faction. The Great-Plain commandery was established for the first time. Reckless, general of Wei, put himself at the head of the armies of five kingdoms to fight against Ch'in state, which withdrew from the Over-River territory. Dull-Stubborn, being defeated, gave way and fled. In the fifth month, on the day C-R, king Grave-Overtop died,

and his son Government came to the throne; this was First August emperor of Ch'in.

Government, king of Ch'in, having reigned twenty-six years, united for the first time the empire under one sway and formed of it thirty-six commanderies. His title was that of First-August emperor. When he was fifty-one years old he died, and his son Mongol-W came to the throne; this was Second-Generation emperor. In the third year of his reign the princes rose in a body in rebellion against Ch'in. Chao-High slew Second-Generation, and placed his son Babe on the throne. When he had reigned rather over a month Babe was slain by the princes, who thus destroyed the Ch'ins, as is related in the annals of Emperor First.

The grand historian says: The ancestor of the Ch'ins had Ying (Winner) as his clan-name; his descendants had separate fiefs, and took their names from the names of their states. There were the families of Hsü, T'an, Chü, Chung-li, Yün-yen, T'u-ch'iu, Chiang-liang, Huang, Chiang, Hsiu-yü, Po-ming, Fei-lien, and Ch'in, but the Ch'ins, inasmuch as their ancestor Tsao-fu held in fief the city of Chao, became the Chao family.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

¹ It might be supposed that if, as stated, the Ch'in annals were undoubtedly preserved at the time of the burning of the books, they would exhibit more signs of verisimilitude than the Chou annals, but they contain the same wearisome string of battles, sieges, captures of towns, etc., and are, of course, equally untrustworthy.

² The birth of Great-Inheritance occurred in as miraculous a manner as that of the first ancestor of the Yin dynasty, viz., from his mother swallowing an egg which had been dropped by a dark bird. It is difficult to make out when this worthy lived,

for if, as stated by a native commentator, he was Kaoyao, Shun's minister of justice, his date should be about B.C. 2250; but it is here recorded that he married a daughter of Shao-tien. Now Shao-tien's date should be prior to that of Shênnung (the divine agriculturist), for the latter is said to have been the son of Shao-tien, but Shênnung is supposed to have lived B.C. 2838-2699.

³ The name Nü-hua reminds one of Nü-kua, otherwise known as Nü-hsi (*vide* chapter i. note ¹²).

⁴ Here, again, the chronology would appear to be faulty, or the persons of the 'Expense' family very long-lived, for, if Great-Expense (Ta-fei) lived in the time of Shun, his son Like-Wood's great-great-grandson could hardly have been alive in the reign of T'ang of the Shang dynasty five hundred years later, nor is his name mentioned in the Records of that dynasty.

⁵ The historian shows a want of originality when he makes the great-great-grandson of Great-Moderation, as well as the great-great-grandson of his brother Like-Wood, the emperor's charioteer. The observation as to this person having the body of a bird is thought by some commentators to mean that he had the beak and claws of a bird. Again, making him contemporaneous with emperor Great-E, would give about one hundred and thirty years to a generation. Below we are told that Bad-Future, six generations after him, was killed by king Martial, the founder of the Chou dynasty, and this gives about seventy-five years to a generation.

⁶ The commentators are not agreed as to what word or words are omitted here, for it might just as well read, 'erected a stone pyramid,' as 'made a sarcophagus of stone,' although it is afterwards stated that Feilien secured a stone coffin, and announced the fact to the god whom he sacrificed to.

⁷ Ch'u-fu is stated to have been another name for Fei'en. Is it possible that the historian knew anything of Egyptian chronology, or had seen ancient stones with sculptures of bird-headed men on them? Arab traders might, at any rate, have brought stories of the great pyramids built by Chufu, Chephren, and Menkaura, and the historian might consequently have introduced these names into his narrative, for we have Chufu without much alteration.

⁸ It is doubtful who the historian intends by the king of Abundance. In the Chou records he makes the queen of king Dark of Chou to have been a daughter of Marquis-T, although she was divorced in favour of the concubine Praise-Sister about this time.

⁹ The Chou annals make no mention of assistance rendered by the Ch'ins to the Chous when they were attacked by the

Jungs, and the narrative almost implies that there was a secret league between Ch'in and Jung, for the Chou king, obliged to move eastward to escape the raids, has to surrender the territory raided, to the Ch'in ruler.

¹⁰ It would appear to be an error for the missionaries to adopt *Shang-ti* as an equivalent for our word 'God,' inasmuch as in a passage in the chapter styled '*Fêng* and *Shan* sacrifices,' f. 3, this particular *Shang-ti* is stated to be Venus. We read as follows: 'When duke Overtop of Ch'in had been made a lord, he resided on the western frontier; consequently, considering that he should preside at (the worship of) the Lesser-Brilliant divinity, he erected the west altar, and sacrificed to the White God (Venus), the victims offered being one bay colt with a black mane, one yellow bull, and one ram.' A Chinese literate, referring to the theory of the five planets which preside over the five points, five colours, etc., might argue thus: The *Shang-ti* whom 'Western men' worship must, of course, be Venus.

¹¹ The *Fêng* and *Shan* treatise says that on this occasion duke Literary dreamt that he saw a yellow serpent come down from heaven to earth; his mouth rested on the slope of mount Fu. On questioning his astrologer Tun about it, the latter replied, 'This is a manifestation from the god on high; sacrifice, O prince, to it.' Duke Literary then erected the altar at Fu and sacrificed three victims there. He performed the *chiao* sacrifice to Venus.

¹² The *Fêng* and *Shan* treatise says, 'Nine years after he had inaugurated the altar at Fu, duke Literary found something like a stone in a town on the northern slope of Ch'ên-tsang hill, and sacrificed to it. Some years the spirit did not come at all while other years it came frequently. When it came, it was always at night. It came from the south-east, bright and shining, like a falling star, and settled down in the place where it was worshipped. It was then like a male pheasant; it had a loud cry, and the wild pheasants answered it at night. A victim was sacrificed to it, and it was called the jewel of Ch'en.' The geography of the Great-Prosperous period of the Chin dynasty says, 'In the time of duke Literary, of Ch'in, a man of Ch'ên-tsang caught out hunting an animal like a pig; he did not know what it was, but led it away to present it (to the duke). He met two children, who said, 'This is a hedgehog; it always lives underground, feeds on the brains of dead men, and if you wish to kill it, a cypress must pierce its head.' The hedgehog then said, 'These two children are the jewels of Ch'ên; whoever catches the male will be king, and whoever catches the female will be leader of the princes.' The Ch'ên-tsang man then chased them, but the children were changed into two pheasants,

male and female, which, soaring over the northern slope of Ch'ên-tsang, were turned into stones, and the Ch'ins sacrificed to them.'

¹³ When a person was guilty of a very grievous crime his relations were executed as well as himself, these relations being, according to Changyen—1st his parents, 2nd his brothers, and 3rd his wife and children : but, according to Juchun—1st his father, 2nd his mother, and 3rd his wife.

¹⁴ In the 'Record of Marvels' we find the following story : 'In the time of duke Literary of Ch'in, in the mountains south of the town of Harmony, there grew a great catalpa tree. The duke was about to cut it down, when suddenly there arose a great storm of wind and rain, and the tree remained intact, and was not felled. There was also a man, who was ill ; going by night to the mountain he heard a spirit say to the tree-god, 'If Ch'in sends a man with loose hair to wind a piece of red silk round the tree, and attack you, will you not be in a bad way?' The tree-god said nothing, but the next day the sick man's story was reported to the duke, who attacked the tree in the way suggested, and it was cut down. From the centre of the tree emerged a black bull, which rushed into the river Abundance. The bull afterwards came out of the river, and some horsemen were sent to attack it, but without success. One of the horsemen fell off, and as he was remounting his horse his hair became loose, and the bull became frightened, and, re-entering the river, did not come out again ; so a head with hair hanging was placed there. The Han, Wei, and Chin states hold this tradition. In the War-Metropolis commandery the sacrifice of the furious bull has been inaugurated. This is the god of the great catalpa bull.'

¹⁵ The murderer is in the 'Tsochuan' (Legge, 'Trad.' p. 34), designated Yufu (Wing-father).

¹⁶ The name of this person is otherwise stated to be High-Sewer-More (*op. cit.*, p. 69).

¹⁷ The 'Spring and Autumn Annals' give Know-Nought as the murderer of duke Overtop of Ch'i (*op. cit.*, p. 82).

¹⁸ According to the 'Tsochuan' these states are said to have been destroyed twenty-four years later (*op. cit.*, p. 125).

¹⁹ The Fêng and Shan treatise says that at this altar sacrifices were offered to the azure God (Jupiter) at Weinan, in Hsi-an, Shên-si.

²⁰ 'Mencius' (v. i. 9) says that the story as to the Po-li-hsi selling himself to a cattle-keeper of Ch'in for five rams' skins in order to seek an introduction to duke Admirable of Ch'in was not a true one. 'Chuangtzu' says in one place that because his cattle were always fat duke Admirable noticed him, and entrusted him with the government of the state ; while in

another he says that the duke secured Po-li-hsi by giving five rams' skins for him (Giles, pp. 270, 309).

²¹ The events of this year are referred to in the 'Tsochuan' (p. 154).

²² The narrative is given in slightly different language in the 'Tsochuan' (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 161).

²³ The horses stuck fast in a bog (*op. cit.*, p. 168). No mention is made in the 'Tsochuan' of the rescue by the three hundred, nor of the horse-feast.

²⁴ It is here pretended that the classics of History, Poetry, Rites, Music, etc., were written as early as B.C. 626; even the Yellow Emperor is credited with the authorship of some of them a few lines lower.

²⁵ After a few sentences quoted from the 'Tsochuan,' we have a portion of the Speech of Ch'in, which is the last chapter of the 'Book of History.' In the preface to that book, however, we find that this speech was delivered three years before, on the return of the Ch'in forces after their defeat by the army of Chin.

²⁶ The names of these three worthy officers of Ch'in are mentioned in the 'Book of Odes' (I. xi. 6), as well as in the passage from the 'Tsochuan,' from which these extracts are taken (*op. cit.*, p. 244).

²⁷ It is a curious coincidence that in the historian's time the Wusun king did an exactly similar thing to that here recorded.

²⁸ There is only one other reference to Confucius in this chapter, viz. that recording the date of his death.

²⁹ Dr. Legge (L. C., iii. p. 80) says that this ornament was like two characters 𠄎 placed back to back, possibly the Greek key pattern.

³⁰ The names of these six powerful rulers do not correspond with those given in the chronological tables.

³¹ It is not quite certain what these 'towers of hope or desire' were. The Standard Dictionary says that the towers stood outside the gate, that they had upper storeys and a look-out on top, that they were round at the top and square at the bottom, that they were used for suspending edicts on, and that they were also called *hsiang-wei*, *hsiang* meaning form, figure, and *wei* high, sublime. Two look-outs, like double gateposts without a gate, used to be erected in front of every gate to mark the palace. They could be ascended, and so afford a distant view.

³² A commentator points out that as one tripod had been previously lost in the Ssü river, only eight could have come into the possession of the Ch'ins.

CHAPTER VII

THE 'BOOK OF POETRY' OR SHIH-CHING

THE Shih-ching, or 'Classic of Poetry,' is one of the supposed ancient works, which the rewards offered by king Hsien of Hochien (circ. B.C. 150) caused to be discovered. As to the origin of the three hundred and five odes, which have come down to our time, we read in Ssüma-Ch'ien's 'Memoir of Confucius' that 'the odes were over three thousand in number in the time of Confucius, who expurgated them, and selected three hundred and five, which were conducive to propriety and goodness.' Many of these are, however, simple love-poems, and one must ignore the statements of native commentators, who have always tried to work in some hidden political signification, which the translation of Dr. Legge, and the more poetical version of Professor Giles, show at once they cannot possibly bear.

We find mentioned in the Odes various personages, with whom we are familiar both in the 'Book of History' and the 'Historical Records,' and a few remarks naturally suggest themselves when we take these names into consideration.

Mr. Clement Allen in his metrical translation of the 'Book of Chinese Poetry' (pp. 509, 510), while criticizing an article entitled 'Chinese Antiquity,' which I published in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* for July, 1890, refers to what he calls my 'extraordinary theory, viz. that the Chinese classics were all concocted by Ssüma Ch'ien, and the scholars

of the Han dynasty.' In that article I adduced various arguments for not believing that ancient books were concealed in old walls, incidentally pointed out the remarkable fact that many of the emperors of the Hsia dynasty were named after stars, and that horary characters formed part of the names of the Shang dynasty emperors. His explanation of this use of horary characters is 'either that the sounds of the names of these kings were known before the art of writing, so that when these sounds were first reproduced in Chinese characters the scribes would naturally choose the best known characters to represent the sounds, or that the kings' real names were tabooed, and other names were used.' No authority is given for these assertions, and I would ask the reader to refer to the names themselves, in my translation of the Records of the Yin or Shang dynasty, for it will then appear that the names of twenty-seven of these kings are compounded of an epithet such as ancestral, great, little, sleek, martial, etc., and a horary character (the first three epithets occur five, four, and three times respectively), so that we are asked to believe that when we speak of Great-A, or Little-B (which are two of the actual names), we must not think of them as having anything to do with great or little, A or B, but as being the nearest approximations to the sounds of the kings' names! This is sufficiently astounding, but when the coincidence occurs twenty-seven times in succession, it will be seen how impossible it is to believe that this explanation of Mr. Clement Allen's can be the true one. It is unfortunate, moreover, that he should imply in the paragraph quoted above that the Chinese did not possess the art of writing in the time of the Shang dynasty (B.C. 1766-1122), because he states in his preface (*op. cit.*, p. 6) that he is 'a believer in Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie's theory, that the Chinese came from Babylonia into China

about B.C. 2500, and that the settlers brought with them a written language.' How, then, did they manage to lose it eight hundred years later? Again, if we are to accept the supposition that the kings' real names were tabooed, and other names used, we ought to be told what the tabooed names were, or how that fact was ascertained, for the 'Records' do not give any other names with the exception of that of T'ang the Successful, who was also known as Heavenly Swallow, or Heavenly-B. The personal, not dynastic, names of kings, emperors, or sages like Confucius, are at the present time 'avoided' as the Chinese say, by the omission of a stroke or two in writing the name, or by a change of pronunciation; but according to Professor Giles ('Chinese Dictionary,' No. 5217), 'the avoidance of names began in the Chou dynasty,' which succeeded that of Shang, and that is just when horary characters for the names of sovereigns ceased to be used! Further, it is not only in the case of the emperors' names that we find horary characters used, but also in those of ministers, nobles, an actress, and the ancestors of the Shangs prior to T'ang, the first recognized emperor. Were *their* real names then also tabooed?

That my theory is extraordinary I admit, because that simply means that it is uncommon, as every new theory must be, but in his preface (*op. cit.*, p. 9) Mr. Clement Allen also characterized it as wonderful, without saying why it should be so characterized.

I will now glance at the Odes themselves, especially those which contain the names of ancient worthies, in order to try and obtain some clue as to when they were probably written, for, if the 'Classic of History' was invented in the Han dynasty, and the same personages appear in the Odes as in that classic, there is some ground for supposing that the Odes also date from that period.

The 'Classic of Poetry' is divided into four parts

or divisions, of which the first, called 'Manners of the States,' occupies about a third, and contains fifteen books or chapters.

Part I. Book I. 'Odes of Chou and the South.'—The school of Chu-hsi and others now refer this book to the time of king Wên of Chou (B.C. 1150), but during the Han dynasty it was thought to belong to the close of the Chou dynasty, nine hundred years later. There are no names mentioned in the whole book except the names of rivers, as the Han and Chiang in the ninth, and the Ju river in the tenth Ode. In the 'Analects,' III. 20, we read that "The master said, 'The Kuan Chü (Ode 1) is mirthful without being lewd, and sad without being painful.'" In the eleventh Ode we have mentioned the feet, forehead, and horn of the *lin*, or *ch'i-lin*, which some authors identify with the giraffe. See notes on Confucius, *infra*.

Book II. 'Odes of Shao and the South.'—The first ode is about a bride being sent to the prince of another state, she being compared to a dove in a magpie's or crow's nest. If one can only realize that this ode was really written in the Han period, it doubtless refers to the princess who was sent to the Wusun state near the present Kashgar in the year B.C. 105, the Han emperor desiring by this alliance to secure the aid of that state in resisting the incursions of the Hsiung-nu, for no names are mentioned. In the fifth ode prince Shao is referred to; in the tenth ode Orion, and the Pleiades; and in the eleventh ode the Yangtzü and To rivers are mentioned. In the fourteenth ode each stanza finishes with the exclamation, "Ah! alas! Chou-yü!" There is great difference of opinion as to what Chou-yü means, some commentators saying that is the name of a 'righteous beast' like a white tiger with black spots, which only eats the flesh of such as have died a natural death, and which only appears when the state is ruled by a benevolent prince; while Ou-yang Hsiu declared

that the name simply meant the huntsmen of the princes' park (Giles' 'Dict.,' No. 11812). Possibly the author was thinking of Chou-yü, written with homophonous characters, who is mentioned in the 'Tsochuan,' B.C. 718, as having murdered his ruler (Legge's 'Classics,' v. p. 15). This might argue the same authorship for the two classics.

Book III. 'Ode of P'ei.'—Dr. Legge, in his notes, points out that the states of P'ei and of Yung, which gives its name to the next book, had been incorporated with the state of Wei long before the time of Confucius. It would appear from the 'Tsochuan' (L. C. C., v. p. 549) that under date B.C. 543 there existed the division of these odes into three books with the names of different states, all, however, acknowledged to be 'Odes of Wei.' The incongruity can only be explained by the admission that the history has been forged. In ode 3 the person called 'Easy the Second' is said to refer to Tai Kuei, whose departure the marchioness Chuang Chiang is supposed to be lamenting (B.C. 718), but it may just as well record the separation of two friends at a later period. In ode 6 soldiers grieve over their being sent away from their families to fight in an expedition under one Grandson-Viscount-Second. In the 'Tsochuan' (L. C. C., v. p. 15) Wei is said to have twice joined in an expedition against Ch'ing, and it is supposed that the operations are referred to in this ode, but the commander's name is not given! The last two lines of ode 8, "From envy and enmity free, what deed doth he other than good," are quoted in 'Analects,' ix. 26, as having been 'constantly hummed by Tzülu (one of Confucius's disciples), when the Master said, How can such a rule of life be sufficient to make any one good?' In ode 14 a married lady longs to revisit her native state of Wei, various towns and rivers being mentioned by name. Again ode 18 speaks of the building of a new tower, and a lady's

"obtaining a loathsome husband instead of the genial mate she was intended for." Both the latter odes may refer to the princess of Wusun, mentioned in my notes on the last book.

Book IV. 'Odes of Yung.'—In ode 6 we have the line "he built the palace of T'su," which is supposed to refer to the walling of Ts'u-ch'iu (L. C., v. p. 136). In odes 9 and 10 respectively we have the towns Chün and Ts'ao mentioned.

Book V. 'Odes of Wei.'—In ode 3 the marquises of Ch'i, Wei, and Hsing, and the viscount of T'an are mentioned, but the marquise of Hsing was extinguished by Wei in B.C. 634, when it is no longer referred to in the 'Tsochuan.' In ode 4 we have, 'I convoyed you to Tun hillock,' but this place has not been identified. The waters of the Ch'i, and the hundred springs of Wei are mentioned in ode 5; and the state of Sung in ode 7; but no persons are referred to in either this or the previous book.

Book VI. 'Odes of the King.'—Ode 10 is the only one in the book wherein any personal name is given. The subject is the complaint of a lady that her lovers Tzŭ-chieh and Tzŭ-kuo have been detained; but it is impossible to say who these gentlemen were, as history says nothing about them.

Book VII. 'Odes of Ch'êng.'—Ode 2 is addressed to a Mr. Second, said to have been minister to duke Chuang, B.C. 742, who is supposed to have replied in the words of this ode to a request that he should punish his younger brother Tuan, accused of plotting against him. This is, however, a forced interpretation, and from the stanzas one might fairly look upon the ode as simply a desire on the part of a lady that her lover should not molest her. Dr. Giles' rendering is as follows: "Don't come in, sir, please! Don't break my willow-trees! Not that that would very much grieve me. But alack-a-day! what would my parents say? And love you as I may, I cannot

bear to think what that would be!" Odes 3 and 4 are in praise of 'younger brother,' and extol his bravery in hunting wild animals. Ode 5 is styled 'Men of Ch'ing,' and the 'Tsochuan' (p. 130) says with reference to it, "The earl of Ch'êng hated Kao-K'ê, and sent him with an army to the banks of the river where he was stationed for a long time, without being recalled. The troops dispersed and returned to their homes. Kao-k'ê himself fled to Ch'ên, and the people of Ch'êng with reference to the affair made the 'men of Ch'ing.'" In ode 10, which refers to a lady mocking her lover, the names Tzŭ-tu and Tzŭ-chung are given. 'Mencius' (vi. 177) says, "We who cannot recognize the beauty of Tzu-tu can have no eyes," so that the former gentleman was a sort of Adonis, but nothing more is known of either of them.

Book VIII. 'Odes of Ch'i;' Book IX. 'Odes of Wei;' Book X. 'Odes of T'ang.'—These are chiefly love ditties. The commentators say that the licentiousness of Wei-chiang (B.C. 700) is here referred to, but except a few rivers and states, we find no names mentioned, and the statement is therefore arbitrary. ◊

Book XI. 'Odes of Ch'in.'—In ode 5 the mount of Chung-nan which is near the town of Hsi-ngan in Shênhsi is mentioned. ◊ In ode 6, called 'Yellow Birds,' we have the names Bury-Cease, Centre-Row, and Needle-Tiger of Viscount Carriage clan, and in the 'Tsochuan' (i. p. 244) we read, "When Office-Good, earl of Ch'in, died, the three sons of viscount Carriage clan, viz. Bury-Cease, Centre-Row, and Needle-Tiger, were buried alive with him; they were all worthy men of Ch'in. The people of the state mourned for them, and composed the ode called 'Yellow Birds.'" In the 'Historical Records' the foregoing paragraph is given in almost identical language, and it is also stated therein that one hundred and seventy-seven persons were buried alive with duke Mu (B.C. 621). Dr. Legge thinks that the ode

was written at this early date, but it seem to me that the above shows that Ssüma-Ch'ien is also the author of the 'Tsochuan.'

Book XII. 'Odes of Ch'ên.'—According to Chu-hsi the ninth ode is the only one of the set of which the historical interpretation is certain! Hsianan, who is here named, was the son of a lady with whom duke Ling (B.C. 612-598) was carrying on an intrigue. ('Tsochuan' i. p. 305).

Book XIII. 'Odes of Kuei,' and Book XIV. 'Odes of T'sao.'—No personal name is mentioned in either of these books, but the capital of Chou and the state of Hsün are referred to in the last ode.

Book XV. 'Odes of Pin.'—Dr. Legge in his notes has pointed out certain astronomical difficulties with respect to the first ode of this book. The second ode, called 'The Owl,' is referred to in the chapter of the 'Book of History' styled 'Metalbound-Coffer,' and it is there stated that this ode was written by the duke of Chou to vindicate the steps taken by him to put down a rebellion in the reign of king Successful (B.C. 1115-1078)! The name of the duke of Chou appears in the fourth ode, and it is the only name in the whole book.

Part II., styled 'Minor Odes,' contains seventy-four odes, of which eighteen are of a festive character, while a dozen relate to military expeditions, and about the same number to disorder in the state, resulting from the sovereign believing slanderous reports against some worthy officer.

Book I. 'Deer-Call.'—Odes 7, 8, and 9 refer to an expedition against the Hsien-yun, or Hsiung-nu, in which the general South-second was chief in command, but nothing is known of him, and although the preface refers the odes to the time of king Literary, Ssüma Ch'ien in his 'Records' says that they were composed at the time of king Excellent about two hundred years later. The Jung barbarians are also

mentioned in ode 8, but no other names are given, and so there is no sufficient reason for supposing that the odes were composed at so ancient a period.

Book II. 'White Flowers.'—Besides five odes, of which only the titles remain, we have five odes of a festive character, containing no names.

Book III. 'Red Bows.'—The third ode says that in the sixth moon, "governor Lucky-great smote the Hsien Yün as far as T'ai-yuan," and in the 'Annals of the Bamboo Books,' it is stated that this occurred in the year B.C. 821. At the close of the ode we learn that the governor feasted with Chang-second, the filial and brotherly; but these personages are not mentioned in the 'Book of History' or 'Historical Records,' and nothing more is known of them. From ode 4 we learn that Square-Junior conquered the Ching and Man tribes, and the 'Bamboo Annals' inform us that this occurred in the same year as that in which the Hsien-yün were subdued. In the fifth ode it is stated that there was a grand hunt eastward in the plain of Great; and this is supposed to be referred to in the passage from the 'Bamboo Annals,' which informs us that "in the ninth year (B.C. 818) king Proclaim assembled the princes in the eastern capital, and that they hunted in Great."

Book IV. 'Minister of War.'—We are told in the preface that ode 3 is in condemnation of king Proclaim, but there is nothing in the ode to connect it with his reign; again, the commentators are of opinion that it is the plaint of a wife ill-treated by her husband and proposing to return home, while Dr. Legge thinks that it refers to an officer who, having withdrawn to another state, became disappointed and desired to return. The first stanza may be rendered: "The yellow bird does not settle on the grain, does not eat my maize; the people of this country will not be good to me; she says, I will return, and go back, back to my country and kin." One cannot help

recalling the lament of the Chinese princess who, in a poem, expressed herself to the following effect: "Alas! my family have married me out, and sent me far away to the king of the Wusun. . . . Oh, I am homesick all the while I live here. Would I were a yellow stork to return to my old home." In ode 7 one 'Paterfamilias' deploras the coming destruction of the kingdom through the injustice of grandmaster Yin. In ode 8 the poet is sad at the expected ruin of the capital of Chou by Praise-Sister, which, according to the 'Historical Record,' occurred in the reign of king Dark (B.C. 781-771). Ode 9 is also attributed to this reign, as it speaks of an eclipse of the sun, and, further, says that August-Father built a capital city in Hsiang; and in the 'Bamboo Annals' we read that this occurred in the fifth year of king Dark's reign, while the solar eclipse was in his sixth year; and, further, that August-Father was the prename of Grandmaster Yin. It is not easy to understand why Dr. Legge in his notes on this ode says that Huang-fu (August-Father) was probably of equal rank with the grandmaster Yin. In the phrase "built a capital city in Hsiang" the words of the ode and those of the 'Bamboo Annals' are exactly the same. A great deal has been made out of the eclipse of the sun having been verified, as having occurred on August 29th, B.C. 775, the very day and month assigned to it in the text, but in Dr. Chalmers' chapter on the astronomy of the ancient Chinese attached to Dr. Legge's prolegomena (L.C.C., iii. p. 103) it is stated to have been 'scarcely visible.'

Book V., 'Small Compassion.'—Most of the remaining odes in this part are, according to the preface, written in the reign of king Dark. In Ode 5 of this book we have the duke of Pao (Oppression) referred to. The preface says, 'The duke of Oppression was a high court minister, and slandered the duke of Su (Sesamum), who thereupon wrote this ode to disown

his friendship.' This is rather suggestive, but the sixth ode is more so. According to the preface, 'A eunuch was suffering from slander and so wrote this ode.' The last lines of it run, "The eunuch, the senior one (Mêngtzü), have composed this poem. All ye officers take heed, and listen to it." Dr. Legge in his notes remarks, 'It is assumed and we may admit it, though it is nowhere stated in the piece, that his own mutilation was in consequence of the slanders from which he had suffered.' Surely we may conclude that Ssüma is the author of these two odes at any rate, and that he was thereby denouncing and warning his enemies after his mutilation. Who again but one who had reformed the calendar would have been so likely to write a poem like Ode 9 of this book, which brings in the following constellations, viz.: 'The Milky Way;' the 'Weaving Ladies,' or three stars in Lyra; the 'Draught Oxen,' or certain stars in Aquila, Lucifer, Hyades; the 'Sieve and Ladle,' or certain stars in Sagittarius?

Book VI. 'Northern Hill.'—In the fourth ode of this book we are surprised to find the lines, "And pipe keep time with sounding stone to Ya or Nan," because Ya refers to the second and third parts of the 'Book of Poetry,' while Nan comprises the first two books of Part I. Some have thought that these names refer to an earlier collection of songs afterwards forming part of the 'Book of Poetry.' Dr. Legge quotes from the 'Official Book of Chou,' the 'Tsochuan,' and 'Analects' to prove this, but what happens if all these classics prove to have been concocted in the Han dynasty? In Ode 6 we have the legend of Yü again, for we read of his "reducing to order the Southern hills, and opening up the plains and marshes for cultivation."

Book VII. 'Greenbeaks,' has no names to refer to.

Book VIII. 'Officers of the Capital.'—Ode 3 refers to the building of the town of Hsieh, by the earl of Shao.

Part III. or the 'Greater Odes,' celebrates the virtues of the sovereigns of the house of Chou.

Book I.—King Literary is the subject of the first ode in the book, and the blessing of Heaven is stated to rest on him and on his descendants. In Ode 2 we find mentioned king Third and his wife, Great-Employ, parents of king Literary, as also 'the continuing lady,' wife of the latter, and his son king Martial, who is stated to have smitten the troops of Yin-shang in the wilderness of Mu, assisted by the grand-master 'Honoured-Father.' Ode 3 relates that Ancient-Duke-True-Father came to the foot of mount Ch'i and founded a settlement. And that the chiefs of Yü and Jui were brought to an agreement stimulated by the virtues of king Literary. In Ode 6 the excellent character of the mother and wife of the king are again extolled. Ode 7 speaks of the brotherly duty of king Third towards his elder brother, and of the virtue of king Literary, who is commissioned by the supreme god to attack the capital of the state of Eminence, and the siege thereof is then described. In Ode 10 we are told that king Literary was successful in overthrowing the town of Eminence, and that he fixed his capital in the town of Abundance, while king Martial, his son, after divination with the tortoise-shell, settled in the city of Hao. Most of the particulars given in this book are mentioned in the 'Historical Record,' but not in the classic of 'History.'

Book II. 'Birth of the People.'—The legendary account of the birth of Prince Millet, the perils of his infancy, and his boyish method of agriculture as given in Ode 1, is in much of its wording so exactly like the narrative as described in the 'Historical Records' that it is instructive to place the two accounts side by side and compare them.

ODE.

The first birth of the people was from Chiang-Source. How did she give birth to our people? She had presented a pure offer-

'HISTORICAL RECORD.'

Prince Millet's mother was called Chiang-Source. Going into the country, she saw a giant's footstep; being pleased

ODE.

ing, and sacrificed in order that her childlessness might be taken away. She trod in a toe-print made by a god and was moved, in the large place where she rested. She became pregnant, she dwelt retired; she gave birth to and nourished (a son); this was Prince Millet. When she had fulfilled her months, her first-born son like a lamb came forth without bursting or rending, without injury or hurt, shewing how wonderful he would be. Did not the high god make her comfortable? Had he not accepted her pure offering and sacrifice? Thus easily did she bear a son. He was placed in a narrow lane; the sheep and oxen avoided and cared for him. He was placed in a wide forest where he was met with by the woodcutters. He was placed on the cold ice, where a bird screened and supported him with its wings. . . .

When he was able to feed himself, he took to planting large beans, which grew luxuriantly; his rows of paddy shot up beautifully; his hemp and wheat grew strong and close; his gourds yielded abundantly. The husbandry of Prince Millet was on the principle of assisting (the growth). . . . He sowed the ground with yellow cereals . . . which grew and came into ear; . . . he was appointed lord of T'ai.

'HISTORICAL RECORD.'

and elated thereat, she desired to tread in it, and when she had done so her body quickened, and she became like one pregnant; she remained at home during the period of gestation; she gave birth to a son.

Deeming it unlucky she cast the child into a narrow lane; the horses and cows passed by, avoiding and not treading on it. She then placed it in a forest, where the woodcutters came across it. She picked it up and cast it on the ice on a canal, and a bird shielded and supported it with its wings. Chiang-Source then looking on it as a god, nurtured and brought it up. . . .

When he was still but a lad, . . . he was fond of sowing and planting hemp and beans, which throve well, and when he became a man he was still more addicted to agriculture; he cultivated that which was suited to the soil, and proper crops were sown and brought to harvest. . . .

He was granted the fief of T'ai.

The last three stanzas of the ode speak of prince Millet founding the sacrifices, and of the mode of sacrificing to him. None of this is to be found in the 'Records,' in which also there are other omissions, such as prince Millet's birth without pain or injury to his mother. From all the circumstances, the account as given in the 'Records,' does not seem to have been copied from the ode narrative, but they are sufficiently alike to afford a strong presumption that they are by the same hand. The order of the clauses should be especially noted. In ode 6 we have an account of the doings of duke Battleaxe and his settlement at Pin, which may be compared with the narrative in the 'Records.' Dr. Legge has pointed out certain incongruities as regards the standard chronology, which places the investiture of prince Millet by Yao with the fief of T'ai in B.C. 2276, and the fixing of the settlement in Pin by his great-grandson in B.C. 1796, so that from the former to the latter a period of four hundred and eighty years elapsed, during which there had been the reigns of Shun, and of Yü, and sixteen of his descendants, besides an interregnum of forty years. He also remarks that the elaborate account of the settlement at Pin in this ode is inconsistent with the stanza about the primitive habitations of the people under Ancient-Duke-True-Father five centuries later (Ode III., i. III., pp. 437, 484).

Book III. 'Vast.'—Although the first ode is stated in the preface to be a warning addressed to king Cruel of Chou, the words of the ode show that it is king Literary who is remonstrating with the last king of Yin-shang, and reminding him of the ruin of the last king of Hsia. In ode 4, prince Millet is stated to be unable to save the people from a drought, which is raging. In ode 5, we read that "from the great mountains descended a spirit, who gave birth to the chiefs of Great and of T, who were the support

of Chou and screens to the four states ;" and that the king directed the chief of T to dwell at Hsieh, a city which had been built and prepared for his reception by the earl of Shao (cf. II. viii. 3). In the last stanza, Governor Lucky-Great is stated to be the author of the ode. This is the personage probably who is said to have "smitten the Hsien-yün as far as T'ai-yuan," which expedition, according to the 'Bamboo Annals,' occurred in the fifth year of king Proclaim (B.C. 823). The following ode is also said to have been written by him. It celebrates the virtues of Hill-Great of Centre (or great one of Central-Hills), who is ordered to fortify a town in the state of Ch'i. He is mentioned in the 'Records,' as having remonstrated against the king's taking a census of the people at Great-Plain, but he is not named in the 'Book of History.' The marquis of T is a more important person in the following reign. This is one of the few instances of a cyclical character being employed in the formation of a proper name throughout the Chou dynasty. In ode 7 we have the king's charge to the marquis of Han, his honours and feast, his marriage to the daughter of Urge-Father, and his appointment to preside over the states of the north. None of this is mentioned in the 'Records.' Ode 8 records an expedition against the tribes of the Huai by Tiger, earl of Shao. In ode 9 the king orders an attack to be made against the Huai and other tribes by a descendant of South-Second, the grandmaster August-Father, and Stop-Father. The events in the four latter odes are recorded in the 'Bamboo Annals,' under the reign of king Proclaim. In odes 10 and 11, we may note that the writer bemoans the ruin occasioned by employing women and eunuchs in public affairs.

Part IV. is simply here divided into five books, of which the first three may be called 'Hymns of Chou,' the next 'Eulogies of Lu,' and the last 'Hymns of

Shang.' The 'Hymns of Chou' are short, consisting of one or two stanzas each.

Book I. 'The Pure Temple.'—The first three hymns refer to a sacrifice in the ancestral temple of king Literary, who is praised for his virtues and the clearness of his statutes. No. 4 is an admonition to the princes generally. In hymn 5 king Great is stated to have brought the country into order, and king Literary is referred to as carrying on the work. Hymn 6 is in praise of king Successful. In hymn 7 we see that a ram and a bull are offered in sacrifice to king Literary. In hymn 8 the house of Chou is at peace, and the king is making a progress through the states. Hymn 9 is in praise of kings Martial, Successful, and Prosperous; the writer also speaks of music and feasting. Hymn 10 is a panegyric of prince Millet, called the correlate of Heaven, who confers grain-food on the people.

Book II. 'Ministers.'—Hymn 1. Instructions addressed to officers who presided over husbandry. In hymn 2 king Successful is mentioned, and the people are urged to attend to agriculture. Hymn 3 speaks of the arrival of guests, but no names are given. Hymn 4 is a thanksgiving for a good harvest. Hymn 5 refers to the blind musicians of Chou, and the instruments they used at the sacrifices. Hymn 6 enumerates the fish used as offerings. Hymn 7 speaks of the sacrifices by a king to his deceased father, assisted by the princes. Hymn 8 refers to the pomp with which the assistant princes came to the sacrifices. Hymn 9 is simply a welcome to a guest. Hymn 10 is in honour of the achievements of kings Literary and Martial.

Book III. 'Pity me, little child.'—Hymn 1, the king reverences his ancestors. In hymn 2 the king prays to his father to help him in his difficulties. Hymn 3, the king seeks counsel from his ministers. In hymn 4 the writer is resolved to be on his guard against the stings of a wasp which turned into a bird.

The sting probably refers to slanderous tongues ; we have many odes on this subject. Hymn 5 refers to the work of agriculture. In hymn 6, after the harvest is gathered in, a bull was to be sacrificed. In Hymn 7 an officer is preparing the sacrifice. Hymn 8 is in praise of the king. Hymn 9, king Martial is praised. Hymn 10 celebrates the merits of king Literary. Hymn 11 refers to the greatness of Chou, and the king's progress through his kingdom.

Book IV. 'Eulogies of Lu.'—Ode 1 celebrates the quality and colour of some person's horses. Ode 2 refers to feasting at court. Ode 3 is in praise of a marquis of Lu who is feasting at the college, and who will conquer the tribes of the Huai, and whose examiners are as wise as Kaoyao, Shun's minister of crime. Ode 4 is in praise of a marquis of Lu, whose ancestry is traced back to prince Millet, who, as we are again told, Chiang-Source brought forth without injury or hurt. It is stated that he taught the people how to sow and reap pulse, wheat, rice and millet, thus continuing the work of Yü ; that his descendant, king Great, dwelt on the south of mount Ch'i, where the clipping of Shang began ; that kings Literary and Martial continued the work of king Great. We then read that the troops of Shang having been disposed of in the plains of Mu, the king appointed the eldest son of the duke of Chou first marquis of Lu. The present marquis is stated to be the son of duke Grave (B.C. 658-626), and we read that he "does not neglect the sacrifices to his ancestors." After referring to his resources for war, it is prophesied that "the tribes of the Huai, the Man, and Mih, and other barbarians would render him allegiance," and that he would live long and happily. The final stanza speaks of the repair of the temples as being the work of one Hsi-ssü. There are some difficulties in the foregoing: *e.g.* the 'clipping of Shang' did not begin till the time of king Wu.

Book V. 'Hymns of Shang.'—Ode 1 speaks of the excellence of the music, and the reverence with which the sacrifices were offered by the 'descendant of T'ang.' In ode 2 the spirits in the vessels, and the well-tempered soups, are stated to be offered at the sacrifices, which the meritorious ancestor is invited to enjoy. The gravity of the service, and the assisting princes are also mentioned, and the ode concludes like the last, with the lines, 'May he regard our sacrifices in summer and winter, offered by the descendant of T'ang.' Ode 3 begins as follows: "Heaven commissioned the dark bird to descend and give birth to the Shangs, who dwelt in the land of Yin, which was very vast. Therefore the god appointed the warlike T'ang to regulate the boundaries throughout the four quarters. In those quarters he appointed the princes, and grandly possessed the nine regions. The first sovereign of Shang received the appointment without instability, and it is now held by the descendant of Warlike-D. The descendant of Warlike-D is a warlike king equal to every emergency." The ode is said to be intended to do special honour to Warlike-D, the twentieth king of the Shang dynasty (B.C. 1324), but there is an incongruity in it, as the name of Yin for the dynasty did not come into force till the reign of Remove-G (B.C. 1401), the nineteenth king, who fixed his capital at Po. He and his successors all appear in the Kang-mu as kings of Yin, and he also changed the title of the dynasty (Legge, 'Shuking,' p. 222). It must be admitted, however, that Ssuma, in his 'Historical Records,' speaks of the dynasty by the name of Yin, from beginning to end; and the sovereigns of Yin, as well as those of Hsia, by the title of Ti (Divine Emperor), although T'ang is represented as saying, 'I am very warlike, so my title shall be the warlike king (Wang).' After the accession of king Wu of Chou (another 'warlike king'), the 'Records' state explicitly, "His

descendants abolished the title of Ti, and took that of Wang," but in the 'Classic of History' we have the titles king of Hsia and king of Shang constantly used (Legge, 'Trad.,' pp. 179, 186, 194), so there would seem to be much uncertainty on the point of titles. With regard to the expression 'dark bird,' it will be remembered that the 'Records' narrate how Hsieh (Contract) was born from an egg dropped by a dark bird, or swallow, after it had been swallowed by his mother. In ode 4 we come across many names, which will appear in the following translation: "Profoundly wise were the Shangs. Long had there appeared the auspicious omens. When the waters of the flood spread over a vast expanse, Yü subdivided the regions of the low-lying land. He assigned to the exterior great states their boundaries, and their borders extended a long way. Yusung state began to be great; the god set up its son and founded the Shangs. The dark king exercised an effective sway. . . . Then came Inspect-Land, all ardent, and all beyond the seas acknowledged his restraints. The appointment of the god did not depart, and in T'ang was found the subject for its display. T'ang was not born too late; his wisdom and reverence daily increased. His influence was brilliant, and long-sustained. The high god held him in reverence. The god appointed him to be a model to the nine regions. . . . He smote Wei and Ku, K'un-wu, and the tyrant of Hsia. Formerly, in the middle ages, there was a time of shaking and peril, but truly did Heaven deal with him as its son, and sent him down a minister, namely A-hêng, who gave his assistance to the king of Shang." The expression "Yü subdivided the lands" is found in the 'Book of History,' and the 'Historical Records.' Inspect-Land, the grandson of Contract, is just named in the 'Records,' where too we read about K'unwu being attacked by T'ang (B.C. 1766), though Wei and Ku are not named. No details, such as are

given in this hymn, are afforded, and neither of these conquered personages is even named in the 'Book of History.' Ode 5 begins, "Rapid was the war of our king of Yin, and vigorously did he attack Chingts'u," and it is stated in the preface to have been written in the time of the king Warlike-D, but Dr. Legge says that suspicion has been cast on its genuineness, partly because the name of Ts'u did not come into use until about B.C. 658, and partly on account of the similarity of structure between the last stanza of this ode and that of the last stanza of the 'Eulogies of Lu' (Book IV.), and he suggests a later origin to the piece; but surely it must be admitted that the period of the Yin dynasty is altogether legendary as much as the labours of Yü, which are also referred to in this ode.

The last stanza is the only one relating to the erection of a temple, and I would draw special attention to the four last characters, which constitute the concluding words of the classic. Literally translated they signify, 'Sanctuary completed, grand repose,' but the last two of these characters form part of the name K'ung-an-kuo, who was the coadjutor of the historian Ssuma Ch'ien; he was employed to decipher the text of the 'Classic of History,' and was perhaps also instrumental in compiling this classic as well. The last character of the name, Kuo, does not appear, but it will be found on analysis that it is composed of two others, which might be read 'Enclosure completed,' and so the whole line forms a sort of literary pun on the name.

Except in the case of those odes whereof the authorship is stated in the pieces themselves, we have no clear testimony as to who the writers were. In the 'great Preface' we have a paragraph which seems to attribute the odes to the historiographers of the states, and I have already given reasons for concluding that the historian of the Han dynasty was the author

of certain odes in Part II. A large proportion of the odes is adulatory of king Wu of the Chou dynasty, and when we recall to mind that in the historian's time there was another king Wu on the throne, with whom it is natural to suppose he would like to curry favour, we may here read between the lines, as it is called. Some fifty odes refer to military expeditions to distant regions which were not popular, and this was a feature of the period in which Ssüma lived. Many odes again are evidently written by some one well acquainted with the names of historical personages, and also with great knowledge of astronomy, so that all the evidence seem to point to Ssüma Ch'ien being the author of the 'Book of Poetry.'

Although I have for convenience sake given the contemporaneous dates—*e.g.*, Shang dynasty B.C. 1766–1122—as they appear in Mayers' well-known chronological tables, it must be understood that I do not admit their accuracy prior to the rise of the Han dynasty, *circa* B.C. 200. This remark refers to all the chapters of my book.

CHAPTER VIII

THE YI-CHING OR 'BOOK OF CHANGES'

THERE are various opinions not only as to when the 'Classic of Changes' was written, but also as to its meaning. It is stated that it first owed its origin to the semi-bestial legendary Fu-hsi (B.C. 2900) who "first delineated the eight trigrams." To these the following meanings for the purposes of divination have been given, viz. Heaven, Water (stagnant, or collected as in a lake), Fire, Thunder, Wind, Water (in motion, clouds, rain, the moon), Mountains, and Earth. These trigrams, or sets of three lines, each were composed of whole and divided lines, originally represented by bright and dark circles. Arranged in groups of two, one over the other, they form a possible combination of sixty-four hexagrams. Whether the Divine Labourer, as Ssūma Chêng says, "multiplied the eight trigrams so as to form sixty-four hexagrams," or whether king Literary of the Chou dynasty, as other authorities say, was the author of the process, is immaterial, as one worthy is as legendary as the other. I do not propose to insist on the correctness of any one of the numerous modes of interpreting this mysterious book. My object is merely to refer to the passages which bring to our notice the ancient personages who are also mentioned in the 'Historical Records,' and the 'Classics of History and Poetry,' so as to get at the probable date of the composition of the book.

11th hexagram. 'Union.'—"Emperor-B gave his

sister in marriage, thus securing felicity and extreme goodluck." Emperor-B was the last but one sovereign of the Yin dynasty (B.C. 1191-1154), but the 'Records' afford no detailed information about him.

18th hexagram. 'Anxiety and care.'—"Three days before the beginning and three days after." The first of the horary characters, *Chia* (A), is used for 'beginning.' These characters did not come into full use until the time of the Han dynasty (see Chalmers' chapter on the astronomy of the Chinese, L.C.C., vol. iii. proleg.); so the text cannot date before that period, if, as the Dictionary has it, *Chia* refers to a 'new period of time.'

36th hexagram. 'Brightness subdued.'—Com. I. "Light entering the earth. The inner (trigram) beautiful and bright, the outer soft and yielding. Involved in great difficulties such was king Literary. Difficulty is symbolized by light obscured. Amid difficulties yet able to keep his resolution firm, such was viscount Sieve." See 'Historical Records.'

(2nd text) "The light (of day) lowered in its flight droops its wing. The princely man on his journey fasted for three days; wherever he goes rulers talk about him." The symbolism here is the sun below the earth, and the general idea that of light struggling with darkness, or the sage shining even in obscurity. From the 'Historical Records' we have the account of the glorious sage, king Literary, being put in prison for a time by the tyrannical king of the Yin dynasty, who also confined his illustrious uncle viscount Sieve. After the latter was released by king Martial the story goes that he retired to Corea, which was placed under his rule. Comparing the sun to a bird is an ancient idea. Huai-nan-tzu says that there is a bird with three legs in the sun. The sage fasting for three days when on a journey is said to refer to an incident in the life of Confucius.

42nd hexagram. 'Increase.'—"When a man acts

equitably the advice offered to his prince will be followed. It will be advantageous; he will be relied on even in such a matter as the removal of the capital." The allusion is to the removal of the capital by the Yin emperor Removal-G, B.C. 1401-1373, who changed the name of the dynasty to Yin ('Book of History,' iv. 7.)

46th hexagram. 'To mount.'—"The king offers sacrifices on mount Ch'i." This mountain was just below the Chou capital, and was the point where Ancient-Duke-True-Father halted, as we learn from the 'Records;' he founded the state of Chou, was grandfather of king Literary, and is supposed to have lived circa B.C. 1200. It does not follow that the mention of the names of these ancient worthies has anything to do with fixing the date of the arrangement of the 'Book of Changes,' as M. Harlez suggested; it merely shows that the author was acquainted with the old historical accounts, but if the latter were written during the Han dynasty, the classic could not be of an earlier date.

49th hexagram. 'To change.'—"Heaven and earth change, and the four seasons complete their course. T'ang and Wu changed the celestial decree in obedience to Heaven, and in response to the wishes of men." Appendix II., "By change the princely man regulates the almanac, and explains the times and seasons." As T'ang the Successful founded the Yin, and king Wu (Martial) the Chou dynasty, they thus altered the decree of Heaven. The princely man who regulated the almanac might apply to Ssuma Ch'ien, who adjusted the calendar, and tells us about T'ang and Wu in his 'Historical Records.'

50th hexagram. 'A Caldron.'—"Holy men cooked their offerings to sacrifice to the god on high, and there were grand cookings for the entertainment of holy and wise men." I have already referred to the worship of Shang ti, the name probably applied to

some planet or planets (cf. 'Hist. Rec.,' ch. v. n. 15, and ch. vi. n. 10).

54th hexagram. 'To give a sister in marriage.'—"When Emperor-B gave his sister in marriage, the sleeves of the bride's robe were not so splendid as those of her younger sister." The same allusion occurs under the 11th hexagram.

55th hexagram. 'Abundance.'—"If the screens are numerous at mid-day one can even see the stars of the Great Bear, but by so doing one draws down suspicion and dislike. If the banners are so numerous that at midday one can see the Mei star in the constellation Sagittarius, yet the right arm will be broken. His house is wealthy, his hangings are numerous, when one looks in at his door, he is alone and silent, for three years he holds no audience; unlucky." The author of the above sentences seems to have been fond of astronomy. The last sentence is said to refer to the emperor Kaotsung of the Yin dynasty (B.C. 1324) who remained more than three years in his palace without speaking to any one (Shu iv. 8). The word 'unlucky' at the end may have been added for purposes of divination, as also were other words of good or bad luck found in the text.

57th hexagram. 'Yielding.'—"Three days before and three days after the day Kêng (G), or the seventh of the celestial stems" (cf. note on the 18th hexagram).

59th hexagram. 'Expansion.'—"The ancient kings thereby sacrificed to the gods and built ancestral temples." Shang-ti is perhaps intended by the expression Ti (gods).

63rd hexagram. 'Already successful.'—"Kaotsung (exalted ancestor) attacked the Demon country, and in three years conquered it." Neither the 'Book of History' nor the 'Historical Records' mention this expedition, but the 'Bamboo Annals' state that "in the thirty-second year (of this reign) they attacked

the Demon country and camped in Ching," and that "in the thirty-fourth year the king's army conquered the Demon country;" the same expressions being used. The words 'Demon country' were applied to the northern tribes, or according to the 'Compendious History' the land of the Hsiung-nu.

64th hexagram. 'Non-success.'—"He terrified and attacked the Demon country, and in three years a reward was obtained for the great state." The allusion is the same as that in the last hexagram.

In the great appendix we first read of *yin* and *yang* (female and male, or darkness and light) and of *Yi* (change). Section I. chap. 5 has as its opening sentence, "One darkness and one light constitute what is called (*tao*) the course (or law); connection is goodness, completion is nature," and a little further we have, "Production and reproduction is what is called (*yi*) permutation . . . The exhaustive use of numbers and the knowledge of the future is called prognostication, and the comprehension of their changes is what is called the business (to be done). When darkness and light are unfathomable we have what is called a god."

The circle which is said to be of the *yang* or heavenly character is sometimes substituted for the undivided lines, and the dark circular dot, which is said to be of the *yin*, or earthly character, is substituted for the divided lines of the trigrams, and chapter 9 treats of the use of numbers in the practice of divination. We read, "To heaven (belongs the number) 1, to earth 2, to heaven 3, to earth 4, to heaven 5, to earth 6, to heaven 7, to earth 8, to heaven 9, to earth 10 . . ." In other words *yang* are odd, and *yin* even numbers. "The numbers of heaven (added together) amount to 25, and those of earth to 30; so the numbers of heaven and earth together amount to 55. It is by these that changes and transformations are effected, that demons and

spirits act." There is a good deal more manipulating of numbers in this chapter, which give the numbers of the lines of the hexagrams when multiplied together, and so forth.

Chapter 10 commences as follows:—"In the Yi the path of the holy man is fourfold. In speaking he sets the highest value on the expressions, as to movement on the changes, in the construction of implements on the symbols, and in consulting the tortoise and the milfoil on the prognostications." After some puzzling directions as to the mode of manipulating the stalks we read, "The Yi has no thought, no action; it is silent and without movement, but when acted on, one can obtain a thorough knowledge of the causation of all things under heaven. If it were not the most perfect spirit in the universe, how could it accomplish all this? Now, the Yi is the method by which holy men fathom the deepest mysteries, and examine the minutest springs of things. It is just by the profundity of its operations that they can fully comprehend the aims of the whole world; it is just by the minuteness of its actions that they can perfect every undertaking in the world; and it is just by its divinity that they can make speed without hurrying, and reach the goal without travelling. This is the import of what the Master said, viz.: that in the Yi the path of the holy man is fourfold." Dr. Legge points out that it is clear from the last paragraph, that the foregoing ones did not come from Confucius, but from the compiler of the great appendix, whoever he was; and we may further add, judging from the language used, that he was thoroughly imbued with Buddhist ideas; so he must have been a scholar of the Han dynasty.

Chapter 11 speaks of divination, or perhaps the science of numbers, which is said to have come from heaven. We read as follows:—"Therefore in the Yi there is the T'ai chi (Grand Extreme Point, or Cause,

represented by a circle), which produced the two primary agents (*yin* and *yang*), and these produced the four symbols, which again produced the eight trigrams. . . . Hence heaven produced the spirit-like things (the tortoise and the milfoil), and the holy men took them as patterns; heaven and earth made changes and transformations, and the holy men imitated them. Heaven suspended its signs (sun, moon, and stars), which manifested good fortune and bad, and the holy men made symbols accordingly. The river gave forth the plan, and the Lo the writing, and the holy men took them as their patterns."

According to Ts'ai-yüan-ting's delineation of the River-plan, and substituting plus digits for light or Yang circles, and minus digits for dark or Yin circles, we have the arithmetical scheme of $+7 - 2$ at the top of the plan, $-6 + 1$ at the foot, $+9 - 4$ on the right hand, $+8 - 3$ on the left hand, and $-10 + 5$ in the centre, thus making a difference of five in each set of circles.

Similarly the Lo writing becomes a magic square, wherein three digits give a total of fifteen when added together horizontally, vertically, or diagonally. Now, if these were the original delineations of the plan from the Yellow river and the writing from the Lo country, the above quotation would seem to imply that the holy men who took them as their patterns came from the sources of the Yellow river and the Lo country—that is, from the regions to the South-west of China—and that they were, in fact, Buddhist monks from India (cf. Mayers' 'Chinese Reader's Manual,' pp. 58, 59; and the Grand Plan, L. C. iii. p. 321).

In Section II. Chapter 2 of this appendix we have, however, a different account of the origin of the trigrams. In a paragraph, which is quoted by Ssüma Chêng in the first or introductory chapter of the 'Historical Records' we read—

“In ancient times, when Pao-hsi came to rule over the world, he, looking up, contemplated the signs in the heavens, and looking down the models on the earth, he observed the markings on birds and beasts, and the suitabilities of the soil. . . . Whereupon he was the first to invent the eight trigrams in order to have a perfect comprehension of the attributes of the spiritual intelligences, and to classify the qualities of all things. By knotting cords he made nets and snares for hunting and fishing. . . . On the death of Pao-hsi, Shen-nung (Divine labourer) came to the throne. By hewing down trees and bending wood he made ploughs and plough-handles; . . . he caused markets to be held at mid-day. . . . After the death of Shen-nung there arose the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun.”

Then follow eight paragraphs recording the invention of ships and oars, the use of draught oxen and horses, double gates and clappers, pestles and mortars, bows and arrows, the building of houses, and the use of coffins for burials. It is not stated in whose reign these occurrences took place, nor are they mentioned in the ‘Historical Records’ or ‘Book of History.’ Finally, in the last paragraph of the chapter the following occurs: “In the highest antiquity government was carried on by the use of knotted cords. In after ages the holy men substituted for these written characters and bonds. The various officers governed thereby, and (the affairs of) all the people were thereby carefully examined.” Are we to suppose that writing was only known in China when Buddhism was introduced? In a Chinese representation of the River-plan mentioned above the circles are joined by lines, which give the appearance of the knotted cords or quipos, which we are told were in vogue before the written characters were invented.

In chapter 5 we have the following passage:—
“The Master said, ‘With respect to the son of the

Yen family, he, I apprehend, has almost attained (to perfection). If he does anything wrong he is sure to be conscious of it, and knowing it he never repeats the action.'” There are two passages in the ‘Analects’ of which we are here reminded. In ‘Ana.,’ xi. 18 we read, “The Master said, ‘There is (Yen) Hui, he has almost attained (to perfection).’” In ‘Ana.,’ vi. 2 the idea in the latter part of the passage is expressed in different language. “Confucius replied, There was Yen Hui, he was devoted to learning, did not transfer to another the anger which he felt towards any particular person, and never fell into the same error twice.”

There are some thirty sentences in the third and fourth appendices beginning with the words, “The Master said,” but no others, beyond the two mentioned, can be found in the ‘Analects.’ These two references are far from being quotations, but it is sufficiently strange to find in both books the same appreciation of the character of Yen hui, Confucius’ favourite disciple.

In Chapter 7 we have the following, “Was it not in the middle period of antiquity that the Yi began to flourish? Was not he who made it familiar with anxiety and trouble?”

Again in the 11th chapter, the statement as to the date of the composition of the book becomes more definite, for the author says, “The Yi came into existence in the last age of the Yin dynasty, when the virtue of Chou reached its highest point, and during the troubles between king Literary and the tyrant Chou.”

The middle period of antiquity is then clearly about the time of the rise of the Chou dynasty (twelfth century B.C.) just as the highest antiquity refers to the time of Fu-hsi (or B.C. 2900), and the lowest antiquity begins with Confucius in the middle of the sixth century B.C., as the Chinese commentators say. What,

then, would have been modern times when presumably the author of the *Yi* lived? If the six hundred and fifty years of middle antiquity is as Dr. Legge says a comparatively short time, we can hardly allow less than four hundred and fifty years for the lowest antiquity period. This would bring us to B.C. 100, and in that case the author, who was familiar with anxiety and trouble, might well have been the historian Ssūma, who is shrewdly suspected to have been the writer of so many pseudo-ancient books. The 'Chronicle of emperors and kings,' says that Confucius made the ten appendices of the *Yi*. Ssūma, who is fond of attributing to Confucius the authorship of works for which he himself is responsible, says in his biography of the sage, "Confucius in his later years delighted in the *Yi* (with the appendices called the) Sequences, Definitions, Explanation of Terms, Symbolisms, Discussion of the Trigrams, and Elegant sentences. During his study thereof, the leather thong of (his copy of) the *Yi* was thrice worn out. He said, 'Give me several more years to live, and I should then acquire a perfect knowledge of the *Yi*.'" This is not quite the same remark as that which is ascribed to the sage in the 'Analects.' He is there stated to have observed, "Give me several years more to live, and after fifty years' study of the 'Book of Changes' I might come to be without great faults." It should be observed here that as the Definitions, Explanation of Terms, and Symbolisms, are each divided into two sections, nine out of the ten 'Wings' are accounted for, but in any case it is absurd to say that Confucius is their author, as is abundantly manifest, nor does the historian even allege that he is.

Appendix iv. 'Elegant sentences, or Words of the elegant king.'—The opening paragraph is quoted (one or two words only being altered) by the duchess-dowager of Lu state, some thirteen years before

Confucius was born (see Legge's 'Classics,' vol. v. p. 440). The lady first quotes the heading of the 17th hexagram, and then gives the quotation referred to.

The Yi-ching and its Wings were then compiled after Buddhism arose in China, that is during the Han dynasty, and by some one who was at any rate well acquainted with the author of the 'Historical Records,' if it were not the same person. The secret key to the interpretation of the classic seems to be the recognition of the fact that there was something very like phallic worship introduced by the Buddhists into ancient China, who persuaded the people that everything was produced by the interaction of the male and female principles throughout the realm of Nature.

It must be remembered that the word *Yi* (mutation) is composed of the characters for sun and moon (*i.e.* the 'great male' and the 'great female' principles) placed one above the other.

To make my thesis clearer I give a literal translation of two passages from the Great Appendix bearing on the point.

Sect. I. ch. 11.—"The Master said, 'Now the *Yi*, what does it effect? It explains things, completes functions, and embraces the law of the world. It does this and that is all. Therefore the holy men by this means penetrate the inclinations, settle the occupations, and determine the doubts of the world. Consequently the virtue (inherent quality) of the milfoil is round and spirit-like, and that of the diagrams is square and wise; and the meaning of the six lines is declared by the mutations."

Sect. II. ch. 6.—"*Ch'ien* (active principle) and *K'un* (receptive principle) are the doors of the *Yi*; *Ch'ien* is the *phallus* and *K'un* the *vagina*. When the female and the male unite their energies the firm and pliable assume form, and through embodiment (we have) the selection of Heaven and Earth (or Nature), and thereby

the comprehension of the operations of the spirit intelligences."

Besides this, 'male' and 'female' are made to stand for 'odd' and 'even,' and there is a little arithmetic introduced, as well as lucky and unlucky words for divinatory purposes.

CHAPTER IX

LI-CHI OR 'RECORD OF RITES'

THERE were altogether three books of Ritual, two of which, viz., the 'I-li' and the 'Chou-li,' were said to have been burnt at the time of the great conflagration of books in B.C. 213, and then to have been re-constructed from memory. The historian tells us also that king Hsien of Hochien (B.C. 155-129) was the person who first obtained these works, but the rewards offered by him for literary discoveries may well have been the incentive for their compilation. In the next century Liu-hsin secured the appointment of a special board of scholars, and the works were then 'completed' by their and Liu-hsin's joint efforts.

From Liu-hsin's catalogue we learn that there was a mass of treatises on Rites, and about the beginning of our era the two cousins Tai set to work to condense them.

Tai the elder reduced the mass to eighty-five volumes, and Tai the younger still further reduced it to forty-six volumes; Ma-yung added three more, but the work now known as the 'Record of Rites' still contains but forty-six. Chêng hsüan (A.D. 127-200), who was Ma-yung's pupil, continued his labours, and in fact, completed them, for we are told that in A.D. 175 the 'Li-chi' with other "Confucian classics" was engraved on stone under the superintendence of Ts'ai-yung.

We will now go through the several volumes in

order, commenting on the historical and other references to be found therein.

Vol. I. 'Various Rites.' i. V. 8.—“On the march the banner with the Red bird should be in front,” etc. The Red bird symbolizes the southern quadrant of the twenty-eight mansions or constellations, the Dark warrior the northern, the Azure dragon the eastern, and the White tiger the western. The fifth or central ‘palace’ comprises the polar star with its neighbouring stars, and the Great Bear with its neighbouring stars. The stars of all five ‘palaces’ are specified in the chapter of the ‘Historical Records,’ styled ‘The Governors of the Sky.’

ii. I. 32. “The king (wang) is dead. . . . When his place is given to him in the ancestral temple, and his spirit-tablet is set up, he is styled on it ti (divine Emperor).” The last designation was applied to the Han sovereigns, while those of the Chou dynasty were called wang.

Vol. II. ‘T’an-Kung’ (probably so called from the name of this person being mentioned in the first paragraph). i. I. 1. “Anciently king Wên passed over his eldest son Yi-k’ao, and appointed king Wu.” This piece of history is not referred to in the Chou records.

i. I. 3. “Chi Wutzŭ said, To bury (husband and wife) in the same grave was not the way of antiquity. It was begun by the duke of Chou, and has not been changed since.” The remark is repeated in i. I. 29. Chi Wutzŭ, a member of one of the three great families of Lu, succeeded his father Chi Wëntzŭ, B.C. 568. (‘Tsochuan,’ p. 427).

i. I. 15. This conversation between the sons of duke Hsien of Chin and the suicide of one of them is narrated in the ‘Tsochuan’ (p. 142).

i. I. 20. “The practice in Chu-lu of calling back (the spirits of the dead) with arrows took its rise from the battle of Shêng-hsing.” The battle is

referred to under the date B.C. 638, but nothing is said about calling back the spirits of the dead, in the 'Tsochuan' (p. 183). "The practice in Lu of the women making their visits of condolence with a band of sackcloth round their hair took its rise from the defeat at Hut'ai." This is referred to in the 'Tsochuan' under date B.C. 569. ('Tsochuan,' p. 424.).

i. I. 29. "Shun was buried in the wilderness of Ts'ang-wu, and it would thus appear that the three ladies of his harem were not buried in the same grave with him." From the 'Canon of Yao' we learn that the emperor Yao gave Shun his two daughters in marriage, but nothing is recorded about the third lady of his harem, for neither the 'Book of History' nor the 'Historical Records' say that he ever had a third wife. The latter account mentions his having died in the wilderness of Ts'ang-wu.

i. II. 20. "Confucius rose early, and with his hands behind him and trailing his staff, moved slowly about near the door, singing, 'The great mountain must crumble, the strong beam must break, the wise man must wither away like a plant.' . . . The Master said, 'Tzŭ, what makes you so late?' Under the sovereigns of Hsia, the body was dressed and coffined at the top of the steps on the east, so that it was where the deceased used to go up (as master of the house). The people of Yin performed the same ceremony between the two pillars, so that the steps for the host were on one side of the corpse, and those for the guest on the other. The people of Chou perform it at the top of the western steps, treating the deceased as if he were a guest. I am a man of Yin, and last night I dreamt that I was sitting with the offerings to the dead by my side between the two pillars. Intelligent kings do not arise; and which one under heaven is able to take me as his Master? I apprehend I am about to die.' With this he took to his bed, was ill for seven days, and died." This

description of the last days of Confucius is so very like that in Ssüma's biography ('Historical Records,' 47. 28) that one must have been copied from the other.

ii. I. 45. "Confucius said that it was good to make straw effigies, but that to make a wooden automaton (to bury with the dead) was not humane, because there was a danger of its leading to the use of (living) men." Cf. 'Mencius,' I. i. iv. 6. "Chung ni said, Was not he who first made an automaton without posterity because he made images and used them (to bury with the dead)?" There may here be a reference to Buddhist images.

ii. II. 11. "Tzŭ-chang asked saying, 'The 'Book of History' says that "Kaotsung for three years did not speak; and that when he did his words were received with joy." Was it so?' Confucius replied, 'Why should it not have been so? Anciently on the demise of the son of Heaven, the king, his heir, left everything to the chief minister for three years.'" The passage, which is found in part v. XV. 5 of the 'Book of History' is not accurately quoted, for it should read "Kaotsung . . . for three years did not speak, he pondered but did not speak, (but when he did) his words were full of harmony." The legendary emperor here referred to is said to have reigned from B.C. 1324 to 1265. This conversation between Confucius and Tzŭ-Chang is referred to with some differences in 'Analects' XIV. 43. The author is probably hinting at the meditations of Buddhist priests.

ii. II. 12. This paragraph is to the effect that duke P'ing of Chin was drinking and feasting with the music-master and another official, although the corpse of a great officer was lying unburied in the hall in his coffin, at the time when T'ukuai came in, made the two officers drink a cup of spirits each, and then drank one himself, and hurried out. When questioned by the duke, he explains that he acted in

the manner he had done to show that he was aware of and wished to emphasize the breach of etiquette which the duke had committed. This narrative occurs in the 'Tsochuan' under date B.C. 533 (Legge, 'Trad.,' p. 626), but with differences, T'ukuai, who is there called the chief cook, giving a much longer explanation of his reasons for his conduct.

ii. II. 20. "Chung Sui died at Ch'ui, and on the next day, which was J-R, the sacrifice of the previous day was repeated; but when the pantomimes entered they put away their flutes. Chung-ni said, 'It was contrary to rule.'" The incident is recorded in the 'Spring and Autumn Annals' in similar language, and the same decision on the subject is given in Tso's commentary. Here, however, the decision comes direct from Confucius himself, although the occurrence took place under date B.C. 601, fifty years before Confucius was born (*v.* Legge's 'Classics,' v. pp. 301, 302)!

ii. II. 26. "At the burial of duke Ch'êng of T'êng, Tzŭ-shu Ching-shu was sent on a mission of condolence, Tzŭ-fu Hui-po being assistant commissioner. When they arrived at the suburbs, because it was the anniversary of the death of I-po (Hui-po's uncle) Ching-shu hesitated to enter the city. Hui-po, however, said, 'We are on public business, and should not for the private affair of my uncle's (death) neglect the duke's affairs.'" This is exactly the same account as that given in the 'Tsochuan' under the date B.C. 539 (*v.* Legge's 'Classics,' v. p. 590).

ii. III. 1. "When duke Chuang fell on Chü by surprise at T'ui, Ch'i-liang met his death. His wife met his bier on the way, and wailed for him bitterly. Duke Chuang sent a person to convey his condolences to her; but she said, . . . 'This is not the place where the ruler should demean himself to send me a message!' The account is found in the 'Tsochuan' under the date B.C. 550, but in that book it is only

said that Ch'i-liang was taken prisoner (L. C., v. p. 504).

ii. III. 9. "When the (shrine)-apartment of his father was burned, (the ruler) wailed for it three days. Hence it is said, 'The new temple took fire,' and also, 'There was a wailing for three days.' The quotations in the latter clause are from the Ch'un Ch'iu (L. C., v. p. 351).

ii. III. 22. "Confucius said, Skilfully did those men do their duty as spies in Sung. It is said in the 'Book of Poetry,' 'If there was any mourning among the people, I did my utmost to help them.'" It is strange to find that Confucius here quotes inaccurately from the 'Book of Poetry' ('Odes,' I. iii. 10. 4), and without any great point, as the application is very far-fetched. We see, however, that the author of the 'Record of Rites' was acquainted with more than one of the ancient classics.

ii. III. 29. A similar story is told in the 'Tsochuan' under twenty-first year of duke Hsi of Lu, who wished, on account of drought, to burn a witch and an emaciated person, from which he was, however, dissuaded, as in this case.

It will be observed that in this volume there are many new incidents and conversations between 'the Master' and the personages with whom we are familiar in the 'Tsochuan' and the 'Analects;' and that the style is the same as in those classics.

Vol. III. 'Royal Ordinances.'—This volume was admittedly compiled by order of the emperor Wên about B.C. 164, many paragraphs in it being taken from the 'Book of History' and from 'Mencius.'

Vol. IV. 'Government proceeding in the different months.'—This volume is stated to be a reproduction of a treatise of the same name contained in the 'Spring and Autumn' of Lu-pu-wei, circa B.C. 230. It is a sort of calendar, and connected with the different seasons of the year. We find the following

pairs of names of divine rulers with their attendant spirits, viz.: Great Brilliant and Spikelets, Blazing God and Ch'u-yung, Yellow God and Empress Earth, Lesser Brilliant and Ju-shou, Chuan-hsü and Dark-mysterious.

Vol. V. 'Questions of Tsêngtzü.'—With the exception of one question by Tzū-yu, and two questions by Tzū-hsia, the whole of this volume is occupied with a series of questions by a third disciple Tsêngtzü, and the replies of his master Confucius, chiefly on subjects connected with mourning rites. In sect. i. 12, Confucius says, in reply to a question, that "formerly duke Ch'ao (B.C. 541-510), while in the silken garment worn at the close of one year's mourning, took the drinking cup and sent it all round, but it was against the rule; and duke Hsiao (B.C. 795-769) at the end of the second year's mourning, put down the cup presented to him, and did not send it all round, but this also was against the rule." One does not know from what records this latter information was obtained, as it was before the Ch'un Ch'iu period.

i. 23. "Confucius said, Formerly duke Huan of Ch'i (B.C. 685-643) going frequently to war, made fictitious tablets and took them with him on his expeditions, depositing them on his return in the ancestral temple. . . . Formerly, on occasion of a visit to Lu by duke Ling of Wei, the mourning rites of Chi Huantzü were in progress." It is doubtful what is meant by these fictitious tablets: the subject is not mentioned in the 'Tsochuan.' With regard to the latter paragraph it is found that the mourning for Chi Huantzü took place in B.C. 492, but this was the first year of duke Ch'u of Wei, duke Ling having died in the previous year, so it is strange that Confucius, who was a contemporary, should have made such a mistake.

i. 24. Confucius gives the opinion of Laotan (Laotzü) on the proper ceremonial to be observed

as to removing the tablets on the death of the ruler, and replacing them in their shrines after the wailing was over.

ii. 22. Confucius says that on one occasion he was "along with Laotan assisting at a burial when the sun was eclipsed," and that "Laotan said, 'Let the bier be stopped on the left of the road, and then let us wail and wait till the eclipse passes away.' He said that this was the rule. When we had returned and completed the burial I said to him, 'In the progress of a bier there should be no returning. When there is an eclipse of the sun, we do not know whether it will pass away quickly or not, would it not have been better to go on?' Laotan said, . . . 'When there is an eclipse of the sun, how do we know that we shall not see the stars? And, moreover, a superior man in his performance of rites, will not expose his relatives to the risk of distress or evil.' This is what I heard from Laotan." This is curious as shewing that both philosophers had a superstitious fear of some unknown danger during the eclipse.

ii. 24. "Confucius said, I have heard this account from Laotan. 'Formerly,' he said, 'the recorder Yi had a son who died prematurely, and the grave was distant. The duke of Shao said to him, 'Why not shroud and coffin him in your palace?' The recorder said, 'Dare I do so?' The duke of Shao spoke about it to the duke of Chou who said, 'Why may it not be done?' and the recorder did it. The practice of coffins for boys who have died prematurely and shrouding them, began with the recorder Yi."

ii. 28. "Tzū-hsia asked 'Is, then, not declining military service during mourning to be condemned?' Confucius said, 'I heard from Laotan that duke Poch'in engaged once in such service, when there was occasion for it; but I do not know if I should allow it in those who seek (by it) their own advantage during the period of the three years' mourning.'"

Poch'in was first marquis of Lu, B.C. 1114-1061. The histories do not record anything about the incidents mentioned in this or the former paragraph, nor about these meetings between Confucius and Laotzŭ, in which the views of the latter are spoken of with great deference, and show that his cult held a preponderating influence at the time when this volume must have been written.

Vol. VI. "King Wên as son and heir." These words open the volume which goes on to say that "thrice a day he paid a visit in due form to king Chi." In the next paragraph we have king Wên speaking to his son Wu saying, "'I am a hundred and you are ninety. I give you three years.' King Wên was ninety-seven when he died and king Wu was ninety-three." The commentators say that king Wu was born when his father was fifteen years old, and there was an elder son Yi-k'ao, who died prematurely; whereas king Wu died at ninety-three, leaving his son Sung (king Ch'êng) only seven years old. They do not understand the meaning of the text as to Wên giving his son three years, etc., and it seems altogether most incomprehensible and absurd. In the next paragraph (i. 3) we read that "king Ch'êng being quite young, the duke of Chou acted as regent, and that when he committed an error the duke punished his own son Poch'in, so as to show king Ch'êng his duty!"

i. 5. "The assistants regulated by the drum (the chanting of the Nan). In spring they recited (the pieces) and . . . in winter they read the 'Book of History.'" The 'Nan' generally refers to the two first chapters of the 'Book of Poetry,' and, of course, the author wishes to make it appear that the two classics are as old as the beginning of the Chou dynasty.

ii. 20. "The musicians went up and sang the 'Ch'ing Miao.'" This was the name of the first of the 'Sacrificial Odes of Chou.'

ii. 24. "It is said in the 'Charge to Yüeh,' 'The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on learning.'" (L.C. iii. p. 261).

Vol. VII. 'The revolution of ceremonial law, or the Wheel of the Law.'—The whole of this volume is full of the Buddhist element. At the commencement, Confucius is sighing over the state of Lu, and in reply to questions from his disciple Yen-yen says, "The practice of the Grand Way and the heroes of the three dynasties (Hsia, Shang, and Chou) I have not managed to attain unto, but I have my aspirations. When the Grand Way was practiced an altruistic spirit ruled all under heaven, . . . but now that it has fallen into obscurity . . . every one thinks of his own advantage . . . Thus the kings Yü, T'ang, Wên, Wu, and Ch'êng, and the duke of Chou were selected from the rest, and of these six princely men there was not one who was not vigilant with respect to the ceremonial law, . . . for he who loses this (sentiment) is dead, and he who maintains it is alive. The 'Book of Poetry' says 'Mark the rat, it has its form; man, however, has no law, but if man has no law, why does he not forthwith die?' . . . Confucius said, 'I wished to observe the *Way* of Hsia, and therefore went to Chi. I was not able to adduce adequate testimony (for its use there), but I secured there 'The seasons of Hsia' (book). I wished to observe the *Way* of Yin and therefore went to Sung. I was not able to adduce sufficient reason (for its use there), but I obtained there 'the K'un-ch'ien (Submission and Activity book).'

In 'Analects' III. 9 we have similar language: Confucius speaks of his visits to Chi and Sung, but says nothing about finding a book at either place. Sect. ii. 13. The expression "The holy man forms a trio with Heaven and Earth" is also found in the book of 'Equilibrium and Harmony' (II. 22). In Sect. iii. 1 occurs the sentence "Man is the energy of Heaven and Earth by the interaction

of the Yin and Yang, the union of spirits and gods, and the subtlest essence of the five elements." Again (iii. 7) "Man is the heart of Heaven and Earth, and the bud of the five elements"—all which is rather obscure.

It may be said that Buddhism gave birth to the ancient philosophy, which is found in Sect. iv. 4. "From this it follows that ceremonial law must have its origin in the Grand Unity, which separated and became heaven and earth. It revolved and became the male and female principles (Yin and Yang); it changed and became the four seasons; it was distributed and formed the spirits (Kuei-shên)." The term *Kuei-shên* is here translated by Dr. Legge "the breathings (thrilling in the universal frame)," but in the paragraph above (S. iii. 1), he renders it by "the animal and intelligent (souls)." The Grand Unity seems to have been first worshipped by the emperor Wu of the Han dynasty in the year B.C. 123 at the instance of one Miao-chi, who said, "Among the gods of heaven the noblest is the Grand Unity" ('Fêng and Shan sacrifices,' p. 50). Miao chi may, however, have been a Buddhist, for his name may be translated 'Lies and Superstitions,' and the emperor seems to have been much influenced by magic arts, which were probably introduced by Buddhist priests.

iv. 16. "The River sent forth the horse with the map (on his back)." The map or plan is supposed to have suggested the making of the eight trigrams of the 'Book of Changes.' (*vid.* 'Yi-ching' App. III. i. 11). Confucius refers to this fable. ('Ana,' ix. 8).

Vol. VIII. The 'law as an instrument' (in the formation of character). The volume derives its name from the first words.

i. 5. "Yao transmitted the throne to Shun, Shun to Yü, T'ang dismissed Chieh, and king Martial attacked Chou; (these must be judged of) by the time. As the 'Book of Poetry' says: 'It was not that

he was in haste to gratify his desires ; it was to show the filial duty that he inherited.'” The quotation from the ‘Book of Odes,’ III. i. 10, refers to king Literary establishing his capital city in Fêng.

i. 19. “Kuan-chung represented hills on the capitals of his pillars, and pondweed on the kingposts of his roof.” This is quoted from ‘Analects,’ v. 17, with this difference, that it is said of Tsang-wên-chung instead of Kuan-chung.

ii. 1. “The important rules are 300, and the smaller rules 3000.” In the Book of ‘Equilibrium and Harmony’ (ii. 38) we read that “the rules of ceremony are 300, and the rules of demeanour 3000.”

ii. 14. Chü Po-yü is mentioned in ‘Analects,’ xiv. 26, and in ‘Mencius ;’ but Chich-po-yü is a Buddhist expression. See Watters’ Essays, and *infra*, p. 281.

ii. 20. “Confucius said ‘One may repeat the 300 odes,’” etc. In ‘Analects,’ II. 2, we read “The Master said, ‘the odes are 300 in number.’” As a matter of fact there are 306 odes.

Confucius is represented as making various remarks which are not found in the other classics ; *e.g.* (i. 15), “Confucius said, ‘Ceremonial usages should be most carefully considered.’”

(i. 23). “Confucius said, ‘How can it be said that Tsang-wên-chung was acquainted with the rules of propriety? When Hsia Fu-ch’i went in the teeth of sacrificial order he did not stop him, (nor could he prevent) his burning a pile of firewood in sacrificing to the spirit of the furnace.’” This worship of the spirit of the furnace really seems to have originated about B.C. 133 when the priest “Li shao-chün was admitted into the presence of the emperor because he understood the art of sacrificing to the furnace, the corn doctrine (*i.e.* avoiding corn and the necessity of eating), and driving away old age (or the secret of immortality.)”

Vol. IX. 'Single victim at the border sacrifices.'—The ceremony of the *Kiao*, or sacrifices on the border, seem not to have been definitely established until the year B.C. 165, when we read in the 'Historical Records' that "the son of Heaven for the first time went personally to Yung, and sacrificed on the border (*kiao*) visiting the five (*ti*) gods' (temples)."

i. 8. Duke Huan of Ch'i and Chao Wên-tzu are here named. The former was the first of the five presiding princes, who died B.C. 643, and the latter was a minister of Chin about a century later.

i. 10. 'The three Huan' were the three sons of duke Huan (see 'Tsochuan,' Legge, 'Trad.,' p. 121.) "To descend from the hall and meet the princes was an error on the part of the Son of Heaven, which began with king I (Even) and was afterwards observed." No information whatever is given in the 'Historical Records' about this the ninth king of Chou (B.C. 894-879).

i. 16. "When the villagers were exorcising the pests, Confucius would stand in his court robes on his eastern steps." This is mentioned in 'Analects,' x. 10, 2, in similar terms.

ii. 2. "At the border sacrifice the arrival of the longest day was welcomed. It was a great act of thanksgiving to Heaven, and the sun was the chief object (of worship)." It would seem that sun worship was prevalent in ancient days.

iii. 3. "The Chou used the *pian* cap, the Yin the *Jsiü*, and the Hsia the *shou*. The three dynasties all wore the skin cap." It is evident that this account must have been written after the Chou dynasty had passed away.

Vol. X. 'Rules for the family.'—We are here told of the manner of entertaining the aged, which was adopted by the five emperors (Fu-hsi, Shên-nung, Huang-ti, Yao, and Shun), and the three kings (*i.e.* Yü, T'ang, and king Literary of Chou).

Tsêng tzü, Confucius' disciple, also refers to the duty of a filial son in nourishing the aged.

Vol. XI. 'Jade pendants.'—ii. 11. "The use of thin white silk in court robes began with Chi K'angtzu. Confucius said, 'For the audience they use the court robes, which are put on after the announcement in the temple of the first day of the month. When the states and clans do not follow the Way, full dress should not be used.'" Chi K'angtzu was a powerful noble of the state of Lu, mentioned in the 'Tsochuan,' B.C. 492-470; and so possibly condemnation of his conduct is more implied than expressed. We are told that Confucius wore at his pendant an ivory ring five inches round on grey strings (iii. 9). A further condemnation of the head of the Chi family is also referred to (iii. 16) in a most indirect manner. We are simply told that "when dining with him Confucius did not decline anything, but did not eat meat at his dinner."

Vol. XII. 'Places in the Hall of Distinction.'—We read in paragraph 6, "Formerly when Chou of Yin was throwing the whole empire into confusion, he cut the marquis of Kuei into slices with which he feasted the princes." In the 'Historical Records,' however, it is stated that the tyrant of Yin cut the marquis of Ou into slices, the marquis of Chiu (Nine) being made into pickle. We also read there that king Successful being young the duke of Chou administered the government as regent, but here our author says that 'the duke took the seat of the son of Heaven,' as if he was actually emperor (p. 7). "In the seventh year he resigned the government to king Successful, who in consideration of the duke's services to the kingdom invested him with the territory of Ch'ü-fu, 700 *li* square." This we are told is a gross exaggeration as the marquisate of Lu was at first only 100 *li* square (p. 8). "The rulers of Lu . . . sacrificed to the god in the suburb of the metropolis,

associating prince Millet with him as assessor." Some of these ceremonies are described in Ode IV. ii. 4. "In the ceremonies of the great sacrifice to the duke of Chou they went up to the hall and sang the 'Pure Temple.'" This was Ode IV. i. 1, of the 'Book of Poetry.' Further, it is stated in this volume that the princes of Lu had the carriages, flags, jugs, bowls, ladles, etc., belonging to the sovereigns of Hsia, Yin, and Chou, including the reed-pipe producing the music of Ich'i (identified by many with the Divine Labourer), and the organ of Nükua, who succeeded Fu-hsi, and who appears in chap. i. of the 'Historical Records.'

Vol. XIV. 'Great Tradition.'—2. It is here stated that "king Martial, after his victory in the plain of Mu, carried the title of king back to king Great or 'True Father,' he kinged 'Third in Order,' and king Literary, or Splendid." This retrospective bestowal of royal honours was, however, according to the 'Historical Records' the act of king Literary. At the close of the volume the last two lines of the first of the sacrificial odes of Chou are quoted, one character being altered, but not the sense.

Vol. XVI. 'Record on Education.'—There are three quotations from the chapter of the 'Book of History,' styled 'Charge to Yueh,' but in the last of the three the text is altered, for instead of the phrase "In learning there should be a humble mind" we have "Be reverently humble." In the sentence (para. 16), "The three kings and the four dynasties were what they were by their teachers;" 'the three kings' usually mean the founders of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, and the 'four dynasties' would seem to include that of Ch'in, especially if this book was written during the Han epoch.

Vol. XVII. 'Record of Music.'—The whole of this treatise may be found word for word in the twenty-fourth chapter of the 'Historical Records' styled the

'Book of Music.' Towards the end of chapter 3, we have the following: "Music was manifested at the Grand Beginning, and rites were found among beings produced." The 'Grand Beginning' we are told here represents Heaven, as the 'beings produced' represent Earth. The 'Grand Beginning' was connected with the doctrines on the cosmogony of the universe prevalent in the Han dynasty, and it is to be noted that the period B.C. 96-92 was also known by this name. In chapter 4 we read as follows: "Anciently Shun made the five-stringed lute to sing the ode called 'Southern Wind.'" In the 'Historical Records' the invention of the five-stringed lute is ascribed to 'Divine Labourer.' Chapter 8, marquis Wên of Wei put a question to Tzŭ-hsia, a disciple of Confucius frequently mentioned in the 'Analects,' and the latter in his reply quotes from Odes III. 1, 7; IV. i. (ii.) 5; and III. ii. 10 of the 'Book of Poetry.' In chapter 9, Confucius replying to one Pin Mao-chia, gives certain details of events from the life of king Martial, some of which are found in the 'Historical Records' and some in the chapter of the 'Book of History,' styled 'Successful Completion of the War,' but intermingled in such a way as to show that the author of this treatise must have been well versed in both histories. In chapter 11, music-master Yi, replying to Confucius' disciple Tzŭ-kung, refers by name to the Sung, Ta ya, Hsiao ya, and (Kuo)-fêng, which are the different parts of the 'Book of Poetry.' From all this it seems probable that Ssuma Ch'ien was very largely responsible for the compilation of this 'Record of Music,' the compiler being also well acquainted with the Shih-ching.

Vol. XVIII. 'Miscellaneous records.'—In this treatise we have various conversations between Confucius and his disciples Tsêng-tzŭ, Tzŭ-kaò, Tzŭ-Kung, and Tzŭ-yu, which are not referred to in the 'Analects,' S. iii. 14. "Confucius said, 'Shao-lien

and Ta-lien acted correctly during their mourning. For the first three days they were not lazy, for three months they were not remiss, for a year they were full of grief, and for the three years they were sorrowful; and yet they were sons of eastern barbarians.'” Shao-lien only is stated in 'Analects,' XVIII. 8 to be one who “declined from high resolve, and brought disgrace on himself, yet whose words were consonant with established principles, and his action consonant with men's wishes,” Ta-lien not being mentioned at all. There are two repetitions, for para. ii. I. 7, 8, is found in Vol. V. ii. 26; and para. ii. II. 17, is found in Vol. VIII. i. 19, 20, as well as in 'Ana.,' III. 22, and V. 17. Various persons are mentioned, whose names also appear in the 'Tsochuan.' We read (ii. I. 25), “anciently noble and mean, all carried funeral staves, but Shu-sun Wu-shu (who was a grandee of Lu state about B.C. 500) when going to Court, saw a wheelwright put his staff through the nave of a wheel and turn it round. After this only men of rank carried staves.” The incident itself is not referred to in the 'Tsochuan.' Curiously enough, another change of rites is here reported (ii. II. 11), for “when the mother of I Liu (minister of duke Mu of Lu, B.C. 409-377) died, his assistants in the rites stood on his left, but when I Liu died, they stood on his right.” Confucius blames (ii. II. 17) An P'ing the second for his parsimony when sacrificing to his ancestors, and for his oppression of his inferiors; but in 'Analects,' V. 16, the sage praises him for “attaching men to himself, and being always deferential.” Dr. Legge, in a note to this passage, says that P'ing was his posthumous title, but he is frequently referred to in the 'Tsochuan' during his lifetime under the same name. He was contemporary with Confucius. Again we have (ii. II. 25), “The practice of not obtaining from the emperor the confirmation of her dignity for the wife (of the ruler) began with duke Chao of Lu (B.C.

541-510)." It appears from 'Ana,' VII. 30, that the duke had married a lady of the same surname as himself, and so he had not announced the marriage to the emperor, as he had not acted according to rule.

Vol. XX. 'Rules of sacrifices.'—Sacrifices, it is here stated, should be offered to the following as "having rendered distinguished services to the people," viz.: "Nung (*i.e.* Shên-nung) son of the lord of Li-shan, Ch'i of Chou, Hou t'u, son of the line of Kung kung, that swayed the nine provinces, who was able to reduce them all to order, and was sacrificed to as the spirit of the ground." The 'Records' do not mention Hou t'u, and Kung kung is spoken of as having played the tyrant at the close of Nükua's reign. "Emperor K'u, who could define the zodiacal stars, Yao, Shun, Yü, and K'un, who was kept a prisoner till death for trying to dam up the waters of the flood. Huang ti, Chuan hsü, Hsieh, and Ming, who through attention to his duties died in the waters," a fact not mentioned in the 'Records'—"T'ang, and kings Wên and Wu." In many respects the above details differ from those stated in the 'Historical Records.'

Vol. XXI. 'Meaning of Sacrifices.'—There are passages in this treatise which seem to be connected with Linga worship and Buddhism. i. 6. "It is only the holy man who can sacrifice to (*ti*) the god." This seems a strange statement, for ordinarily it was the ruler who sacrificed to *Shang ti*. Again we read (i. 13), Why did they honour those possessing (*tê*) virtue? Because of their approximation to (*Tao*) the Way." Sun-worship is here again referred to, for we read (i. 18), "The suburban (or border) sacrifices were great thanksgivings to Heaven, and the sun was the principal object (of worship), with which the moon was associated. . . . They sacrificed to the sun on the altar, and to the moon in the pit, to differentiate between dark and light, and to regulate

the high and the low. They sacrificed to the sun in the east, and to the moon in the west, to differentiate between inner and outer, and to show the correctness of their relative positions." ii. 15. "Yü, Hsia, Yin, and Chou produced the greatest kings in the empire, and there was not one who did not esteem age." Here the Chou dynasty is again spoken of as having passed away. ii. 25. "Formerly the holy men organized the phenomena of negative and positive, of Heaven and Earth, and made them the basis of the (Yi) 'Book of Changes.'" This would seem to have been written after the Yi-ching appeared.

Vol. XXIII. 'Different teachings of the classics.'—The first two paragraphs headed by the words 'Confucius said' are, as Dr. Legge intimates, a sort of anachronism, for they mention by name the six classics of 'History,' 'Poetry,' 'Music,' 'Changes,' 'Rites,' and 'Spring-Autumn Annals.' The enumeration of six classics dates really from the time of the Han dynasty, and the last-named classic is supposed generally to have been compiled by Confucius himself two years before his death. It is strange that the closing words of this treatise are stated to be quoted from the 'Book of Changes,' for they are not found in that classic at all. In paragraph 6 we have the following sentence: "This verifies what was said by Confucius, viz. 'For giving repose to superiors, and good government to the people, there is nothing better than the (Li) 'Book of Rites.'" The quotation is from the twelfth chapter of the 'Book of Filial Piety,' one of the books which we are told, on the authority of Ssüma Ch'ien, was discovered in the wall of Confucius' house together with the 'Book of History.' There was no 'Book of Rites' suitable for public instruction before the time of the Hans, and the sentence is a clumsy attempt to cast a glamour of antiquity on this classic. The anachronisms which meet us at every turn can only be explained by the

admission that all the so-called ancient books were forged by the Han scholars.

Vol. XXIV. 'Questions of duke Ai.'—We now come to a series of questions put to Confucius, with his replies thereto; and one of the most remarkable passages is that contained in paragraph 16. "The duke asked, 'What is it that the princely man prizes in Heaven's Way?' Confucius replied, 'He prizes its non-finality, for like the sun and moon, which follow each other in the east and west without cessation, there is no check to its perpetuity; by non-action things are perfected, and being perfected they are brilliant—that is Heaven's Way.'" The phraseology seems to have a Buddhist ring about it.

Vol. XXV. 'Confucius living at ease.'—The sage conversing with three of his disciples refers to K'uei, Shun's director of music, as being acquainted with music, but not with ceremonies.

Vol. XXVI. 'Confucius at leisure.'—The Master praises the founders of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, and quotes frequently from the 'Book of Poetry,' but very inaptly.

Vol. XXVII. 'Record of dykes' consists entirely of sayings of Confucius, who quotes repeatedly from the classics of 'Poetry,' 'History,' 'Changes,' 'Spring-Autumn Annals,' and even from the 'Analects,' which most sinologists would say is a gross anachronism. One line, stated to be from the 'Book of Odes,' is not found therein.

Vol. XXVIII. 'Equilibrium and Harmony.'—This treatise, perhaps the most important in the 'Book of Rites,' was in the Sung dynasty published separately, and with the 'Learning for Adults,' 'Analects,' and 'Works of Mencius' classed together as the Four Books. Traces of Buddhist doctrine are found all through it, and the word 'Tao,' or the Grand Way, occurs more than fifty times. The first sentence is sufficient to show its Buddhist tendency. It may be

translated as follows: "What Heaven has ordered is called nature; an accordance with nature is called the Way; the cultivation of the Way is called Instruction." In i. 20 Dr. Legge, following Chu-hsi's interpretation, has changed the character 'Su,' often applied to the vegetable diet of Buddhist priests, for another meaning 'to study,' and the clause may be rendered, "The Master said, 'To live on plain fare, in obscurity, and do miracles, so as to be the talk of future ages, is what I do not do.'" Thus put, there seems to be a hit at the practice of Buddhist monks in the sentence. In ii. 30-32 we read that "perfect sincerity is unceasing, long-enduring," etc., the same qualities being attributed to "the way of Heaven and Earth." The language here used is very similar to that of treatise xxiv. p. 16, already quoted, one phrase, "by inaction it is perfected," being almost exactly the same. It should be here noted that the 'inactive ones' was a Buddhist sect.

Confucius constantly quotes from the 'Book of Poetry,' and eulogizes the founders of the Chou dynasty.

ii. 46. This is a paragraph quoted from 'Analects,' iii. 9, 14.

Vol. XXIX. 'Example record.'—Here we have numerous quotations from the 'Book of Poetry,' and a few from the 'Books of History' and 'Changes.' The ancient sages Shun, Yü, king Wên, and the duke of Chou, and the Hsia, Yin, and Chou dynasties are referred to.

Vol. XXX. 'Black robe.'—Every paragraph begins with the words 'The Master said.' There are very many quotations from the 'Books of Poetry' and 'History' in the treatise.

Vol. XXXVIII. 'Conduct of the scholar.'—In reply to questions from the duke Ai of Lu, Confucius explains what the conduct of a scholar should be. Again in 'Analects,' VI. 11, "Confucius addressing Tzûhsia said, 'Do you be a gentlemanly scholar, do

not be a mean scholar.'” This word for scholar (*ju*) is now applied to the followers of Confucius, but it was formerly applied to Buddhist hermits, for the expression *Nêng jên* (capable of pity) was used to translate the Sanskrit term ‘Sakyamuni,’ or ‘saint of Sakya,’ and this was occasionally changed into ‘*Nêng ju*,’ ‘the clever man of learning’ (see Watter’s ‘Essays,’ pp. 388, 447). Paragraph 3, “Confucius said, ‘The scholar has a gem on his hat, with which he is awaiting invitations.” So (‘*Ana.*, IX. 12) Tzŭ-kung asks, ‘There is a beautiful jewel here ; should it be put in a casket and stored up, or should one seek a good price for it and sell it?’ The Master said, ‘Sell it ! sell it ! but I would wait for the bidder.’ Again we may compare (‘*Taotêching*,’ 70), “Thus the saint wears hair-cloth, but carries a jewel in his bosom.” In all these cases the hidden jewel is understood to mean ‘high qualification for official employ,’ or perhaps the moral qualities of the Tao. Cf. ‘*Ana.*, XVII. 1.

Vol. XXXIX. ‘Learning for adults.’ — This treatise, like its companion the ‘Equilibrium and Harmony,’ is full of Buddhist expressions and ideas. Paragraph 1 begins “The course (*tao*) of the ‘Learning for adults’ consists in illustrating illustrious virtue, in loving the people, and in resting in the highest good. If you know where to rest, you will then be settled ; being settled you can then be calm ; being calm, you can then be quiet ; being quiet, you can then be contemplative ; and being contemplative, you can then attain the end.” A few more paragraphs, and then this short treatise ends. It is followed by a commentary in ten chapters said to be by the philosopher Tsêng, but the first six chapters have been transposed by Chu-hsi. Taking them in the order in which they appear in Legge’s ‘Classics,’ Vol. I., it will be seen that chap. 1 consists of three quotations from the ‘Book of History,’ chap. 2 has a quotation from the ‘Book of History’ and one from the ‘Odes,’

chap. 3 has five quotations from the 'Book of Odes,' chap. 9 quotes once from the 'Book of History' and thrice from the 'Odes.' This chapter also mentions Yao, Shun, and the last emperors of the Hsia and Shang dynasties. Chap. 10 quotes twice from the 'Book of History' and thrice from the 'Odes.' Part of a remark by Fan, maternal uncle of duke Wên or Ch'in, which is found in the 'T'an kung' (Vol. II.), is here repeated. We have, too, a saying of Mêng Hsien, a minister of Lu before the birth of Confucius, who is referred to in the 'Tsochuan.' Having stated that this treatise is often published in conjunction with the 'Equilibrium and Harmony,' I may be allowed here to refer to a passage in the latter treatise, which by some of the commentators is admitted to be a Buddhist sentiment. It is as follows: "He who is entirely perfect, . . . and able to give its full development to animals and things, . . . can assist the transforming and nourishing operations, . . . when he will be absorbed into Heaven and Earth." The word *ts'an*, which is sometimes translated 'form a trinity with,' has frequently this idea of absorption, as *ts'an ch'an*, 'to sit absorbed in contemplation.'

Vol. XLIII. 'Meaning of archery.'—There are two or three sayings of Confucius, one of which is found in 'Analects,' III. 7, and a quotation from the 'Book of Poetry' in this treatise.

Vol. XLV. 'Meaning of Missions.'—Many paragraphs of this treatise and the four previous ones are taken from the 'I-li.' At the end Confucius quotes from the 'Book of Poetry,' I. xi. 3.

Vol. XLVI. 'Mourning dress.'—Most of this treatise is from the 'Rites of the elder Tai.' There is a quotation from the 'Book of History,' and one from the 'Classic of Filial Piety.'

It will be evident to the reader that the 'Record of Rites' is full of Buddhist teaching, and so must date from the Han dynasty.

CHAPTER X

THE 'CH'UN-CH'IU' AND THE 'TSO-CHUAN'

THE Ch'un-ch'iu (literally 'Spring-Autumn' or 'Annals') is the only classic of which the authorship has been claimed for Confucius, and this principally on the authority of 'Mencius,' who gives a most glowing account of it; but in the sequel it behoves us to ascertain what grounds there are for believing in the existence of the 'Elder philosopher' (Mêng-tzŭ) himself. Any one taking up the 'Annals' must agree with Dr. Legge, who goes fully into the nature and value thereof in the prolegomena to his translation, that it is 'nothing but a dry detail of facts or incidents without a single practical observation, Confucian or Non-Confucian.' What then can be thought of such remarks as we find in the pages of 'Mencius' about it? *e.g.* "Confucius said, 'Will it not be solely by the Annals (Ch'un-ch'iu) that I shall be known? Will it not be solely by the 'Annals' that I shall be condemned?'" Again, "Confucius completed the 'Annals,' and rebellious ministers and villains were terrified" ('Mencius,' III. ii.; IX. 8. II.)

Ssŭma Ch'ien in his biography of Confucius says, "The master said, No! no! The princely man is distressed lest his name should not be commended after death. My doctrines do not make way. How shall I myself appear to future ages? Accordingly, as the historian records, he made the 'Annals' (Ch'un-ch'iu). His aim was that when future kings should open the book, the meaning of the 'Annals'

would have free course, and the rebellious ministers and villains of the world would be terrified. . . . When his disciples received the 'Annals,' Confucius said, 'After ages will know me by the 'Annals,' and it is by the 'Annals' also that they will condemn me.'" The above extract does not purport to be a quotation from 'Mencius,' yet it seems to me extraordinary that the same language is employed in commendation of the 'Annals,' so manifestly absurd as it is. The only conclusion one can come to is that Ssūma is the author of 'Mencius,' but that I will discuss later on. Twice more it is stated in the 'Book of Mencius' that Confucius was the author of the Ch'un-ch'iu ('Annals').

The 'Tsochuan' (literally 'Auxiliary-narrative') is stated to have been written by Tso-ch'iu-ming, but the critics are not agreed as to who he was, or when he lived. His name means, 'Help to Confucius in elucidation,' which, supposing that the 'Spring-Autumn Annals' was written by Confucius, exactly describes the nature of the aforesaid narrative, for it is not only a commentary, many incidents being introduced, of which there is not the slightest trace in the 'Spring-Autumn Annals.' There are, too, in it, numerous quotations from the 'Books of History,' 'Poetry,' and 'Changes,' which seem to denote that it was written subsequently to those classics. The writer shows an intimate knowledge of the ancient legends given in the 'Historical Records,' and the names of worthies who live as far back as the time of Fu-hsi appear in its pages. The attention of the emperor Hsüan (B.C. 72-48), we are told, was called to the 'Tsochuan,' and the book was, no doubt, revised by Liu-hsin, for we are told that "when he saw the 'Ch'un-ch'iu, and the 'Tsochuan' in the ancient characters, he became very fond of them; he quoted the words of the commentary to explain the text (of the classic), and made them throw light on each other,

and from this time the proper meaning of the paragraphs and clauses was established." It was not, however, until A.D. 99 that the classic and the commentary were placed finally in the Imperial College, and their authority recognized.

Ma-tuan-lin and other scholars of China declare that the *old texts* of the 'Spring-Autumn Annals,' compiled in the Han dynasty and subsequently, were called the correct texts, but that the original text, as corrected by the Master, was never discovered. They say that Tso protracted the text to the sixteenth year of duke Ai, when the death of Confucius is recorded, and that this part, at least, must be considered a forgery. Dr. Legge believes in the suspicious story of the discovery of certain old classics in the wall of Confucius' house about B.C. 150, one of them being the 'Spring-Autumn Annals,' according to the author of the Shuo-wên dictionary. He thinks, however, that the moralizings which conclude many narratives with the words, 'the superior man will say,' and the passages predicting the future, and allusions thereto, were 'probably interpolated during the time of the first Han dynasty'!

The 'Book of Rites' is said to have been one of the classics found in the hole in the wall, but M. Harlez long ago pointed out that it must have been compiled in the time of the Han dynasty, so it is absurd to believe in the mysterious finding of the other classics, which can all be proved to have been originally written about that period (cf. the classic under date B.C. 633 below).

Again, the late Dr. Chalmers pointed out that not only are the dates in the 'Tsochuan' wrong, but that they are systematically wrong, so as to agree with an imperfect method of calculation, adopted some centuries later, and founded on observations made about B.C. 103 of the actual position of the sun and moon. Moreover, he ascertained that in the

matter of the position of the planet Jupiter, the 'Tsochuan' is also systematically wrong!

Our classic begins with the first year of duke Yín of Lu, and the 'Historical Records' has an entry to the effect that this was the forty-ninth year of king Peace (B.C. 722). In the eleventh year of his rule it is stated in the 'Annals' that 'the duke died,' from which one would infer that he died a natural death; but in the 'Records' and 'Tsochuan' we are informed that he was murdered. The instances where facts are ignored, concealed, or misrepresented in the 'Annals' are too numerous to mention; and only one more will be referred to here. In the twenty-eighth year of duke Hsi (B.C. 632) it is stated in the 'Annals' that "the king held a court at Hoyang," but in the 'Tsochuan' we are informed that "the marquis of Chin summoned the king, and made him hold this court," and that Confucius said that inasmuch as it is not correct for a subject to summon his ruler, "the history" had given it in the above way. Dr. Legge goes fully into the subject in his prolegomena.

Under the year B.C. 624 we have in the 'Tsochuan,' "So Yü did not take precedence of (his father) K'un, nor T'ang of Hsieh, nor Wên and Wu of Not-empty. Emperor-B was [the ancestor of Sung, and king Cruel the ancestor of Ch'êng." The author would seem to have studied the 'Historical Records,' for Not-empty, Emperor-B, and king Cruel are referred to therein, though not in the 'Book of History.'

Under the year B.C. 633, the 'Tsochuan' says, "The marquis was consulting about a commander-in-chief, when Chao Ts'ui said, 'Chio Hu is the man. I have heard him speak. He talks about the 'Books of Rites' and 'Music,' and deems of importance the 'Poetry' and the 'History.''" Here again we have an attempt to give a fictitious antiquity to these classics.

Under the date B.C. 621 the 'Tsochuan' relates as follows: "Office-Good, earl of Ch'in, having died, the three sons of Viscount-Carriage named Bury-Cease, Centre-Row, and Needle-Tiger were buried alive with him; they were all worthy men of 'Ch'in, and the people of the state bewailed them, and composed the ode 'Yellow Birds' (Ode I. xi. 6) . . . The superior man might know from this that Ch'in would not march to the East again." From the 'Historical Records,' where most of this passage is quoted, we learn that one hundred and seventy-seven persons in all were sacrificed at the death of this ruler of Ch'in, Ssuma Ch'ien also giving the concluding prophecy so curiously falsified by the conquests of emperor the First!

Under the date B.C. 609 there is a long paragraph about the sons of Chuan-hsü, Ku, Huang-ti and Shao-hao, a good deal of which is quoted in the 'Historical Records' about Yao's time.

In the year B.C. 606, we have a prophecy to the effect that "king Successful fixed the tripods in Chia-ju, and divined that the dynasty should extend through thirty reigns over seven hundred years." In the list of the kings of Chou we find that there were thirty-two reigns after king Successful, extending over a period of eight hundred and twenty-three years, but from the way in which the passage reads one may see that it must have been written after the Chou dynasty came to an end.

In the year B.C. 600 we have the decision of Confucius who quotes the 'Book of Poetry' (III. ii. x. 6) with regard to the fate of Hsieh Yeh, an unimportant person who died that year.

Under the dates B.C. 589 and 574 we read in the 'Tsochuan' comments by Confucius on certain incidents connected with Chung-shu, Yu-hsi and Pao Chuang-tzŭ respectively.

Under the year B.C. 564 the 'Tsochuan' relates that

the grandmother of duke Hsiang quotes from the 'Yi-ching.'

Under the date B.C. 559 Chü Poyü is first mentioned in the 'Tsochuan.' He is said to have been formerly a disciple of Confucius, and he is ranked as second of the 'former worthies' in the Confucian temples. In 'Analects,' XV.6, Confucius speaks of him as a superior man. He is one of the many Poyüs of history. The foregoing entries are all prior to the birth of Confucius (see p. 281).

In the year B.C. 550, according to the 'Historical Records,' Confucius was born, but the 'Tsochuan' has no note about it.

Under the date B.C. 546 the 'Tsochuan' has a note to the effect that "Jui, minister of instruction in Sung, had a daughter born to him who was so red and hairy that she was thrown away under a bank. A concubine found her, and brought her into the palace, and she was called Castaway." This is like the story told by Ssuma Ch'ien of prince Millet, or Castaway, the first ancestor of the Chou dynasty.

Under the date B.C. 541 the 'Tsochuan' relates that "the Emperor Kao-hsin (*i.e.* Ku, B.C. 2436) had two sons, the elder O-po, and the younger Shih-ch'in, . . . who were always fighting with each other. The emperor Yao not approving of this, removed O-po to Shang hillock to preside over the star Ta-ho. The men of Shang followed him, and so Taho is the star of Shang. Shih-ch'in was removed to Ta-hsia to preside over Orion. The men of T'ang (Yao's descendants) followed, and served the dynasties of Hsia and Shang. The last of the line was T'ang Shu-yü. When Yi-chiang, wife of king Wu, was pregnant with Great-younger she dreamt that the deity said, 'I have named your son Yü, I will give to him T'ang which belongs to the star Orion, and I will multiply his descendants.' When the child was born the character Yü appeared on his hand, and he was named

accordingly. When king Successful destroyed T'ang he gave Great-younger a fief, and so Orion is the star of Ch'in ; hence we see that Shih-ch'in is the spirit of Orion. Formerly Gold-Sky (*i.e.* Lesser Brilliant, B.C. 2598) had a descendant called Dusk, chief of the water-officers, who had two sons Yün Ko and T'ai t'ai. T'ai t'ai inherited his father's office, drained the channels of the Fên and T'ao rivers, and embanked the great marsh so as to make the great plain habitable. The emperor commended him and invested him with the principality of Fên stream. The states of Ch'in, Ssü, Ju, and Huang kept up the sacrifices in his honour, but now Chin presiding over the sacrifices to the Fên abolished them. From this we see that T'ai t'ai is the spirit of the Fên." None of the above mythology appears in the 'Shuching' or the 'Historical Records.'

In the year B.C. 540, when Confucius was only ten years old, the 'Tsochuan' says that the marquis of Chin, being then on a visit to Lu, "examined the document in charge of the grand historiographer, when he saw the diagrams of the 'Yi-ching' and the 'Spring-Autumn Annals' of Lu, and said 'The institutes of Chou (Chou li) are all in Lu. Now indeed I recognize the virtue of the duke of Chou and see how the house of Chou attained to the royal dignity.'" It has been stated that there was an earlier history of Lu called by the name 'Spring-Autumn,' which supplied the materials for the later work, but it seems more likely that the passage quoted is merely another attempt to create a belief in the antiquity of the classics.

Under the date B.C. 535, when Confucius was but a boy, the 'Tsochuan' has the following about the sage and his ancestors : "Mêng Hsi-tzü said, 'I have heard that there will arise a man of intelligence called K'ung ch'iu, a descendant of the holy man, whose family was destroyed in Sung. His ancestor Fu-fu-ho

might have possessed Sung, but he resigned it to Duke Cruel. Then there was Ch'êng K'ao-fu who assisted dukes T'ai, Wu, and Hsüan (B.C. 799-728).

... Mêng I-tzŭ and Nankung Ching-shu became disciples of Chung-ni (Confucius)." Mêng I-tzŭ was the son of Mêng Hsi, who, as we see, recognized the greatness of the sage, the latter was not, however, publicly honoured till five hundred years later.

Under the year B.C. 533 we have a narrative about the marquis of Chin and his chief cook T'u-kuai, which is found with some differences in the 'Li-chi' I. ii. II. 12.

Under the date B.C. 513 the 'Annals' give the entry "Autumn, 9th month" merely, but the 'Tsochuan' appends a long account on the subject of dragons with plenty of legendary lore, and quotations from the 'Book of Changes.' The story of emperor Cave-A of the Hsia dynasty (B.C. 1879-1849), which is found in the "Historical Records," is given here also with a little more detail. There are also legends about Shaohao, Chuanhsü, king Kung, prince Millet (ancestor of the Chous), and others, which are not found elsewhere.

Under the date B.C. 510 the 'Tsochuan' prophesies in the name of "the historiographer Mo" that in less than forty years Yue would probably possess Wu."

The 'Annals' terminate with the year that the lin' was captured, or fourteenth of duke Ai, but the 'Tsochuan' records the death of Confucius two years afterwards (B.C. 479), and continues the narrative to the fourth year of duke Tao (B.C. 464).

The reader will easily admit that the 'Spring-Autumn Annals' as well as the 'Tsochuan' were written in the Han period.

CHAPTER XI

THE LUN-YÜ OR 'ANALECTS'

THE Lun-yü or 'Analects' are 'discourses' chiefly between Confucius and his disciples, though there are certain chapters giving simply conversations between two or more of his disciples. This is one of the 'Four Books,' and it is said to have been found with others in the hole of the wall of Confucius' house, but this has been already proved to be a fable. Dr. Legge (Proleg. i. 16) considers it to have been written about the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century B.C., although he states that he can find no evidence of its existence as a distinct work prior to the Ch'in dynasty (B.C. 250). Its real date is, however, about B.C. 100, in spite of the attempt by Han scholars to cast a glamour of antiquity over it by references to the 'Book of Odes' and other classics, and by the resuscitation of many of the mythical persons with whom we are familiar in the 'Book of History' and the 'Historical Records.' It is hoped that the following notes on the book will serve to establish the above conclusion.

I. 2. "The philosopher Yu said, . . . The superior man devotes himself to getting at the root of things, and when the root has been established, the right course of conduct (tao) springs up. Filial piety and fraternal submission, are they not the root of all that is owing from man to man?" Cf. 'Ta-hsio,' 6. "This is a root matter for every individual to cultivate personal character." We shall find that Tao, or the

right path of the Buddhists, occurs repeatedly throughout the work.

3. "Fine words and a specious manner are rarely associated with the duty of man to man." Cf. 'Book of History,' iv. 1, and Laotzü's remark to Confucius (Shihchi, 15).

12. "In practising the 'Rules of Propriety' (*li*), friendliness is to be prized. It was the royal road of the ancient kings. It is excellent, and every one, small or great, should follow it. If by 'Li' the 'Record of Rites' is intended, it is evident that the Lun yü must have been written after that classic, that is during the Han dynasty.

15. "Tzükung said, The 'Book of Poetry' observes, 'As you cut so you file, as you carve so you polish.'" The quotation, which is from Ode I. v. 1, is intended to illustrate successive steps in self-cultivation.

II. 2. "The Master said, The 'Book of Poetry' contains three hundred pieces, but one expression in it covers the purport of all, viz., 'Have no depraved thoughts.'" Ode IV. ii. 1, from whence this sentence is taken, is descriptive of various kinds of horses, and the saying is quite irrelevant.

5. "Mêng I asked what filial piety consisted of. The Master said, 'Not being perverse,' . . . for the 'Rules of Propriety' should always be adhered to with regard to parents—in ministering to them when alive, in burying them when dead, and then in sacrificing to them." Mêng I or Hochi is one of the characters spoken of in the 'Tsochuan.'

16. "The Master said, The study of heterodox doctrines is indeed injurious." This seems levelled against Buddhism.

21. "The Master said, 'What does the 'Book of History' say about filial piety?' Filial piety and amicable relations between brothers should extend even to an administrator." This passage, although

incorrectly quoted, occurs in a charge supposed to have been delivered by king Successful to prince Ch'ên (circ. B.C. 1100), and shows that the writer was acquainted with the 'Book of History.' ('Shu,' V. xxi. 1).

23. "Tzūchang asked, Can one foretell what will take place three hundred years (or ten generations) hence? The Master said, 'The Yin dynasty followed the rites of the house of Hsia, and one can tell whether it deteriorated or improved. The Chou line followed the rites of the Yins, and one knows whether it deteriorated or improved. Some dynasty may succeed that of Chou, and even 100 ages (or 3000 years) hence one can tell what will happen.'" For similar prophecies see 'Equilibrium and Harmony,' treatise 29, and 'Mencius,' II., i. II., 17.

III. 1, 2. "According to the head of the Chi family and the eight rows of posturers in his hall, Confucius said, 'If this be endured what may not be endured?' The three families while the sacrificial vessels were being removed used to chant the Yung hymn." The three great families of Lu are frequently referred to in the 'Tsochuan.' Having eight rows of posturers and making use of the Yung hymn (Ode IV. i. II. 7), were both usurpations of the royal prerogative. One cannot help noticing the words Pa yi (eight rows), for there are so many persons in the classics who go by the name Pa yi or Po yü, that the words seem to have had a special attraction for Ssūma (supposing he is the author), who doubtless saw Pa yi or Shans in his travels in Yunnan province.

9. "The Master said, 'The ceremonies of Hsia I am able to describe though the Chi state can adduce no adequate testimony in favour of their use there. I can also describe the rites of Yin, though Sung cannot show sufficient reason for their use. Because they have not records, nor learned men enough. If they had I could appeal to them for evidence.'" This

is another attempt to magnify the antiquity of the records.

21. "Duke Ai asked Tsai-wo about the altars to the spirits of the land. He replied, 'The lord of Hsia used the pine tree, the man of Yin used the cypress, and the man of Chou the chestnut, to inspire, 'tis said, the people with feelings of awe.'" The word for chestnut also means dread. The sentence seems to imply that the Chou dynasty had come to an end.

22. "Some one asked, 'Did Kuan-chung know the 'Rules of Propriety'?' The Master said, 'Seeing that the feudal lords planted a screen at their gates, he too would have one at his! . . . If he knew the 'Rules of Propriety,' who is there that does not know them.'" It is here again pretended that the 'Record of Rites' was in existence in Confucius' day. Kuan-chung is mentioned in the 'Tsochuan' and in the 'Historical Records'; he was chief minister to the duke of Ch'i, B.C. 683-540.

25. "The Master said of the Shao music that it was all beautiful and all good, while that of the Wu was all beautiful but not all good." The Shao was the music of the emperor Shun, B.C. 2300, and the Wu was that of king Martial, B.C. 1122.

IV. 15. "The Master said, 'Tsêng Hsin, my principles have one main idea on which they all hang.' Certainly, he replied. When the Master had gone out, the other disciples asked what he meant, and Tsêng answered, 'Our Master's principles are loyalty and altruism—that's all.'" The main idea seems to be wholehearted sympathy.

20. "The Master said, 'If for three years a son does not veer from the principles of his father, he may be called dutiful'"—implying during the period of mourning. This is a repetition of part of 'Ana,' i. 11.

V. 11. Tzükung said, 'What I do not wish others to put upon me, I also do not wish to put upon others.'

Nay, said the Master, you have not attained to that." On another occasion the same disciple "asks if there is one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life. The Master said, 'Is it not altruism? What you do not yourself desire do not bestow on others.'" Confucius uses the same language to another disciple Chung Kung ('Ana.,' XV. 23, and XII. 3). In both these instances it has been said that we have practically our Saviour's Golden Rule in a negative form, but that is not quite the case.

22. "The Master said, 'As Po-yi (Elder Even) and Shu-ch'i (Younger Level) did not remember old grievances, the resentments directed against them were few.'" These ancient worthies preferred to die rather than submit to the new dynasty of Chou. Their fabulous biography is given by Ssuma Ch'ien in his 'Historical Records.'

24. "The Master said, 'Of fine words, specious manner, and excessive show of deference Tso-ch'iu-ming was ashamed, and so am I. Of hiding resentment towards a man and treating him as a friend Tso-ch'iu-ming was ashamed, and so am I.'" This was not, say the commentators, the famous author of the 'Tsochuan.'

VI. 20. "Fan ch'ih put a query about wisdom. The Master said, 'To devote one's self to promoting righteous conduct among people, to treat spiritual beings with respect, and to hold aloof from them—this may be called wisdom.'" This might be considered the reply of an agnostic.

26. "When the Master had had an interview with Nantzü, which had scandalized his disciple Izü-lu, he took a solemn adjuration, 'If I have done wrong, may Heaven reject me! may Heaven reject me!'" In Confucius' biography in the 'Historical Records' it is stated that Nantzü, who was a notoriously lewd lady, sent for the sage, and that he bowed his head to the ground behind a screen to her.

27. "The Master said, 'Is not the moral excellence that flows from the 'Equilibrium and Harmony' perfect? It has for a long time been rare among the people.'" In the third section of the 'Book of Equilibrium and Harmony' the sentence reads, "Is not the 'Equilibrium and Harmony' perfect? Those who can (practise it) for a long time are rare among the people." Surely the remark must have been made after the treatise was written.

VII. 1. "The Master said, 'I, as a transmitter and not an originator, and as one who believes in and loves the ancients, venture to compare myself with our old P'êng.'" This is with reference to the pretended editing of the classics by Confucius.

5. "The Master said, 'Extreme is my decay. It is long since I dreamed that I saw the duke of Chou.'" The duke of Chou, another of Ssüma Ch'ien's creations, is credited with having materially assisted in setting up the dynasty of Chou, B.C. 1100.

6. "The Master said, 'Concentrate the mind on the right way; maintain from hold on virtue; rely upon philanthropy; and find recreation in the Arts.'" These consisted of Ceremonial, Music, Archery, Horsemanship, Language, and Calculation. The 'Way' (Tao) and (Tê) 'Virtue' are here brought into juxtaposition.

13. "When the Master was in Ch'i state, and had heard the Shao he lost all perception of the taste of meat for three months. 'I had no idea,' said he, 'that music could have been brought to such a pitch of perfection.'" Most of us would agree with this remark. Cf. 'Ana.,' III. 25.

14. "Yen-yu said, 'Does the Master take the part of the prince of Wei? 'Ah!' said Tzükung, 'I will ask him.' He went in and said, 'What sort of men were Po-i and Shuch'i?' 'Ancient worthies,' was the reply. 'What about resentments?' said he. 'They sought to do their duty to their fellow men

and succeeded—what room further for resentments? When Tzükung came out, he said, 'The Master does not take his part.'" The details of the story of the prince of Wei are found in the 'Tsochuan.' Po-i and Shu-ch'i again appear in 'Ana.,' XVI. 12.

16. "The Master said, 'Give me several years more to live, and after fifty years' study of the 'Book of Changes,' I might come to be free from serious error.'" Cf. 'Life of Confucius' in 'Historical Records.'

17. "The Master's regular subjects of discourse were the 'Books of Poetry and History,' and the maintenance of the 'Rules of Propriety.'" These several classics are named in order to make it appear that they were old works.

VIII. 1. "The Master said, "Great-Earl may certainly be called a man of perfect virtue. He declined the empire thrice, while the people were unable to commend him." The fable is told in the 'Historical Records,' and it is also referred to in the 'Book of Poetry,' with slight differences.

8. "The Master said, 'From the 'Book of Odes' we receive impulses, from the 'Record of Rites' stability, and from the 'Book of Music' refinement.'" Three classics, of which the last is lost, are here compared, but the 'Record of Rites' at any rate has been proved to have been a work of the Han dynasty.

18-21. "The Master said, 'How sublime was the handling of the empire by Shun and Yü—it was as nothing to them! How great was Yao as a prince! Was he not sublime! Say that Heaven only is great, then was Yao alone after its pattern! How profound was he! The people could not find a name for him! How sublime in his achievements! How brilliant in his literary compositions!' Shun had five ministers and the empire was well governed. King Wu said, 'I have ten able ministers.' Confucius said, 'Ability is hard to find, is it not so? In the interval between

Yao and Shun there was more of it than during this dynasty, when there was one woman and only nine men. When two-thirds of the empire were held (by king Wên) he served with that portion the house of Yin. The virtue of the Chou dynasty may be said indeed to be the perfection of virtue. As to Yü, I can find no flaw in him. Living on meagre food and drink, yet displaying the utmost filial piety towards the spirits. Dressing in coarse garments, yet most elegant when vested in his sacrificial apron and cap! Dwelling in a poor palace, yet exhausting his energies over those ditches and watercourses." There is much extravagant and absurd laudation here of the legendary emperors Yao, Shun, and Yü, B.C. 2356-2197. It should be carefully noted that the information here given with regard to Yü is the same as that in the 'Historical Records.'

IX. 8. "The Master said, 'The phoenix does not come! no plan issues from the river! I might as well give up.'" As there were no auspicious omens the sage here despairs of the triumph of his doctrines. The clause 'no plan issues from the river' is found in the 'Book of Changes,' and refers to the 'dragon-horse' which, it is said, came out of the river, having on its back the mystic signs, which suggested to Fushi (B.C. 3000) the idea of the eight diagrams.

X. 17. "Confucius on getting into his car, would never fail to stand erect, holding on by the strap. When in the car he would not turn his head quite round, nor speak hastily, nor point with his hand." (Cf. Lichi I. i. V. 34.)

XI. 5. "Nanyung used to repeat three times over the lines about the white sceptre, and Confucius gave him the daughter of his elder brother to wife." The lines are from 'Odes' III. iii. 2, 5. It does not appear whether the elder brother, who was doubtless the cripple Mêng-p'i, was alive at the time, but presumably he was dead, for otherwise Confucius would not have

had any authority over his daughter. The statement is repeated in 'Ana.,' V. 1.

6. "Chik'ang asked which of the disciples loved learning, and Confucius replied, 'There was one Yen-hui who was fond of it, but unfortunately his allotted time was short, and he died; and now his like is not to be found.'" This is another repetition, for in 'Ana.,' VI. 2, duke Ai puts the same question and receives the same answer, but with two additional clauses in praise of the disciple.

11. "Chi-lu asked about ministering to the spirits of the dead. The Master said, 'While you are unable to minister (properly) to men, how can you minister to the spirits?' On his venturing to put a question about death, the reply was, 'While you do not know life, how can you know about death?'" This is most unsatisfactory, and it is hardly worthy of a sage to evade questions in this way.

XII. 22. "Fan-ch'ih asked what was philanthropy. The Master said, 'Love to man.' He asked what was wisdom, and the Master said, 'Knowledge of man.' As Fan-ch'ih did not grasp his meaning he said, 'Lift up the straight, set aside the crooked, so can you make the crooked straight.' Fan-ch'ih meeting Tzŭ-hsia said, . . . what did he mean? He replied, 'Words rich in meaning those. When Shun was emperor, and was selecting his men from among the people, he promoted Kaoyao, and men without philanthropy went far away. When T'ang was emperor and chose out his men from the crowd, he raised up Iyin with the same result." Cf. 'Ana.,' II. 19, part of this dictum of Confucius being there given. These quasi-historical allusions are dragged in without much relevancy.

XIV. 6. "Nankung-kuo, who was putting an inquiry to Confucius, observed respecting I, the skilful archer, and Ao, who could propel a boat on dry land, that neither of them died a natural death, while Yü and

Chi, who had personally laboured at husbandry, became possessors of the empire." The 'Tsochuan' mentions I and Ao (B.C. 2165), but nothing is said about propelling a boat on dry land. The Chou dynasty is stated to have traced its descent from Chi (prince Millet), but the latter is not stated to have possessed the empire. Nan-kung-kuo (the last syllable written with a different radical) was a minister of king Wên. (Shu. V. 16, 12). This name, with the syllables transposed, would resemble that of the literate K'ung-an-kuo, who was probably instrumental in forging this classic.

16. "The Master said, 'Duke Wên of Chin was artful, and not upright, and duke Huan of Ch'i was upright and not artful.'" These two leaders of the princes are referred to in the 'Tsochuan,' B.C. 683-627. The duke Huan as well as Kuan-chung come in for further mention in the next two paragraphs.

20. "The Master was speaking about the unprincipled course of duke Ling of Wei when Chik'ang said, 'If he be like that, how is it that he does not ruin his position?'" This duke Ling (B.C. 533-492) was the husband of the notorious Nantzũ referred to in 'Ana,' VI. 26.

22. "Confucius having bathed, went to Court and informed duke Ai that Ch'ên-hêng had murdered his prince, and 'I beg,' said he, 'that you will punish him.' 'Inform the chiefs of the three families,' said the duke. Confucius said, 'Since he uses me to back his ministers, I did not dare to announce the matter.'" The account, given in the 'Tsochuan' under the year B.C. 480, is slightly different from the above, although the construction of some of the sentences is word for word the same.

27. "The Master said, 'When not occupying the office, devise not the policy.'" This is a repetition from 'Ana,' VIII. 14.

28. "The philosopher Tsêng said, 'The superior

man in his thoughts does not wander from his office.'”
Quotation from the ‘Book of Changes,’ 52.

36. “Some one said, ‘What about the remark, ‘Requite enmity with kindness?’ ‘How, then,’ said the Master, ‘would you requite kindness? Requite enmity with straightforwardness, and kindness with kindness.’” The remark is found in Laotzü’s ‘Tao-tê-ching,’ II. 63, and is consequently noteworthy.

43. “Tzüchang said, ‘What is meant by the statement in the ‘Book of History,’ that while the Exalted Ancestor was in the mourning-shed he spent the three years without speaking?’ The Master said, ‘Why must you name the Exalted Ancestor? The ancients all did so. When the sovereign died, the officers agreed among themselves that they should give ear for three years to the prime minister.’” The quotation is incorrectly given, for in the ‘Shuching,’ IV. 8, 1, it is stated that after the three years’ mourning the emperor still did not speak. This was the twentieth emperor of the Shang dynasty Martial-D, who was canonized as the Exalted Ancestor.

XVI. “Ch’ên-k’ang asked of Po-yü, ‘Have you heard anything else peculiar (from your father)?’ ‘Not yet,’ he replied. ‘Once he was standing alone when I hurried past him in the hall, and he said, Are you studying the ‘Odes’?’ ‘Not yet,’ I replied. ‘If you do not learn the ‘Odes,’ said he, ‘you will not have the wherewithal for conversing.’ I retired, and studied the ‘Odes.’ On another occasion when he was again standing alone, and I was hurrying past him in the hall he said, ‘Are you studying the ‘Record of Rites’?’ ‘Not yet,’ I replied. ‘If you have not studied the ‘Rites’ you have nothing to stand upon,’ said he. I retired, and studied the ‘Rites.’ These two things I have learnt” (cf. ‘Ana.,’ VIII. 8). There is no doubt that the author of the ‘Analects’ is constantly impressing on the reader the importance of the ‘Book of Odes’ and the ‘Book of Rites’ as well

as the 'Book of Music.' In 'Ana.,' XVII. 9-11 we have, "The Master said, 'My children, why do you not study the 'Odes'? They are adapted for rousing (the mind), for purposes of self-contemplation, for making people sociable, for arousing (virtuous) indignation. They teach the nearer (duty) of ministering to a parent, and the remoter one of serving one's prince; and from them one becomes conversant with the names of many birds, beasts, plants, and trees.' To Po-yü, he said, 'Study you the 'Odes of Chou and the South,' and those of "Shao and the South.' The man who does not study these is, I should say, somewhat like one who stands facing a wall! 'Propriety demands it,' 'Propriety demands it,' so people say, but are jewels and silks all that is meant by propriety? Or it is 'Music requires it,' 'Music requires it,' but are bells and drums all that is meant by music?" Po-yü (Senior Fish), Confucius' eldest son, was also called 'Carp,' and it is stated that he was so called because the duke of Lu sent a present of a carp at his birth: but see above (III. 1), where I have alluded to the peculiarity of this and similar names. Chü Po-yü (XVI. 26; XV. 6) is another case in point.

XVII. 1. "Yang-ho said to Confucius, 'Come, I want a word with you. Can the man be called philanthropical, who keeps his jewels in his bosom, and deludes his country?' No, was the reply" (cf. 'Tao-tê-ching,' 70). 'The sage wears coarse garments and keeps his jewel in his bosom.' Could the remark attributed to Yangho have a secret reference to Buddhism, which bears the designation of the Tri-ratna or three jewels, viz. Buddha, the Law, and the Monk-hood? Yangho or Yanghu was chief minister of the Chi family, and is referred to in the 'Tsochuan,' B.C. 503. As regards similar homophonous names recurring in the classics we have a Yang-fu ('Ana.,' XIX. 19).

XVIII. I. "The viscount of Wei retired, the viscount of Chi became a bondman, and Pikan remonstrated, and was slain. 'These,' said Confucius, 'were three philanthropical men of the Ying dynasty.'" These three ministers remonstrated with the last king of the Yin dynasty, who was a monster of cruelty. Both the 'Historical Records' and the 'Book of History' refer to this episode.

XIX. 24. "Shu-sun Wu-shu had been casting a slur on Confucius. 'No use doing that,' said Tzŭ-kung; 'he is irreproachable. The worth of other men is as little hills and mounds traversable. He is the sun or moon impossible to reach and pass.'" Tzŭ-kung had just repudiated being thought superior to Confucius, and here he continues to exalt the character of the Master.

25. "Tzŭch'in addressing Tzŭ-kung said, 'You depreciate yourself. How can Confucius be said to be a greater worthy than yourself?' Tzŭ-kung said, 'a gentleman for a single utterance of his may be considered wise, and for a single utterance may be deemed unwise. We ought to be careful in what we say. No more could one attain to the Master's perfections than go upstairs to Heaven.'" It is strange for one disciple to attempt to depreciate the Master when speaking to another disciple.

XX. I. The quotations in the first five paragraphs are from four different chapters of the 'Book of History.' The three sentences of the first paragraph are found in the 'Counsels of the Great Yü' (Shu. II. ii. 14, 15, 17), but they do not there follow each other in regular order. They were, moreover, not utterances of Yao at all, but were addressed by Shun to Yü. Paragraph 3 is from the 'Announcement of T'ang' (Shu IV. ii. 4, 8), but there are some variations in the wording; T'ang, too, does not mention his private name Li, and the prayer is there addressed to the 'Spiritual sovereign of high Heaven' instead

of the 'most august sovereign god.' Of the eight words in paragraph 4, two are found in the 'Successful Completion of the War' (Shu V. iii. 9). The two sentences of paragraph 5 are from 'the Great Declaration' (Shu V. I. ii. 6, 7).

CHAPTER XII

THE 'BOOK OF MENCIUS'

MENCIUS, or Mêngtzŭ (the Elder one), is supposed to have lived B.C. 372-289. Dr. Legge, in his prolegomena to the works of Mencius ('Chin. Classics,' vol. ii.), has gone very fully into the incidents of his life as they may be gathered from his writings, and has told us that there is hardly any other source of information about him. He certainly says that we may find references to Mencius in the literary remains of K'ung-fu, and the philosopher Hsün king or Minister Hsün. As to the former of these two worthies, he admits, however, that he has not seen the writings themselves, but bases his opinion on extracts given in the notes to Chu-hsi's preface to 'Mencius,' which is not very satisfactory; and talks of K'ung-fu as having hid several classics in the wall of his house when the edict for their burning was issued in B.C. 213. In a note to the 'History of the Former Han,' chap. 30, we find that "according to the Family sayings K'ung-têng hid the classics of 'History,' 'Filial piety,' and the 'Analects' in the wall of Confucius' old house, but that Yinmin of the Han dynasty states that K'ungfu was the person who did so, and so one does not know which of these two statements is the correct one." It is strange that neither of these two men has been honoured by having a niche to his memory among the 'Tablets in the temple of Confucius.' Again, with reference to Minister Hsün, Ssüma Ch'ien, in his short biography

of the man, says nothing of his early career, the account beginning, "Minister Hsün was a man of Chao, who started on his travels when he was fifty years of age, and came to the state of Ch'i for his education." He is rather vague about him, for although he refers to him as living in the time of king Hsiang of Ch'i (B.C. 282-264), he says "some people assert that he was a contemporary of Confucius (B.C. 551-479)." We may fairly conclude that those persons who refer to Mencius, and who lived prior to the rise of the Ch'in dynasty, are themselves legendary characters.

In the brief account given of Mencius by Ssüma Ch'ien in his 'Historical Record,' particular notice must be drawn to the fact that no mention is made of his ancestry, or even of his mother, whom subsequent legends have rendered so famous, but about whom nothing seems to have been known until Chao-ch'i in the second century A.D. wrote about her, in the earliest commentary that we have on the works of Mencius. Ssüma's account is as follows: "Mêng-k'ò was a man of Tsou (Shantung), who received instruction in the school of Tzū-ssü (Confucius' grandson); when thoroughly versed in the doctrine he travelled in the suite of king Hsüan of the Ch'i state, but king Hsüan being unable to utilize his services, he went on to the Liang state. King Hui of Liang did not carry his teachings into effect, for at the interview which he granted him he said that they were unpractical, and inapplicable to business matters. This was the period when a memorial was sent up to the throne with a view to cause the prince of Shang (circ. B.C. 350) to be employed to make the country rich by vigorous military tactics; when the Ch'u and Wei states, through the instrumentality of Wu ch'i (d. B.C. 381), conquered in battle and weakened the foe; when kings Wei and Hsüan of Ch'i (B.C. 377-313) employed Suntzū, Tienchi, and

their followers; and when the princes having assembled in the east at the court of Ch'i, the whole empire was addicted to constant lawlessness, and deemed it right to make war. Mêng-k'o, transmitting the virtues of Yao, Shun, and (the founders of) the three dynasties, was not therefore in harmony with those who acted in this way, so he retired into private life, and together with Wan-chang and others prefaced the 'Books of Poetry' and 'History,' unfolded the views of Confucius, and wrote the 'Works of Mencius' in seven parts."

It will be thought a curious coincidence that the historian, in his biographies of Confucius and Mencius, should credit both sages with having written prefaces to the 'Canon of History,' and that while the latter is said to have prefaced the 'Canon of Poetry' as well, the former is reported by the same historian to have expurgated that classic, and given it its present form. Again both sages wander from state to state, but their teachings are in neither case looked on with favour by the rulers of the various states.

Glancing through the 'Book of Mencius,' one may observe that there are more than twenty quotations from the 'Book of Odes,' but I do not propose to refer to all of these in detail; there are also numerous quotations from the 'Book of History,' the 'Confucian Analects,' the 'Book of Rites,' and other classics, and the usual ancient mythological personages are referred to from Yao and Shun downwards.

Certain passages will be referred to as helping to determine when the book was written and who the author was.

I. i. II. 4. "In the Declaration of T'ang it is said, 'When this sun expires, I and you, we shall all perish.'" Mencius quotes from the 'Book of History,' IV. i. I. 3.

I. i. V. Mencius said, 'With a territory only a

hundred *li* square it is possible to be an Imperial sovereign.' Again, I. i. VI., "king Hsiang of Liang having asked, 'How can the empire be settled? Mencius replied, 'By unification.'" And I. i. VII., "The king of Ch'i said, 'What virtue must there be to attain Imperial sway?' Mencius replied, 'The protection of the people; with this no one can prevent a ruler from attaining it.'" Mencius seems here to refer to the consolidation of the empire under one rule, which however did not occur until B.C. 221, under the reign of Emperor First of Ch'in.

I. ii. V. King Hsüan of Ch'i, in one of his conversations with Mencius, informs him that he has an infirmity, viz. his love of wealth, whereupon the sage, quoting from the 'Book of Poetry' (III. ii. VI.), says that "in ancient times duke Battle-axe (an ancestor of the Chou dynasty) was also fond of wealth, as shown by his stacks of provisions and stores of grain;" but he continues, "If your Majesty loves wealth let it be shared with your people, and then there will be no reason why you should not attain the Imperial dignity." The king then said, "I have another infirmity, my love of women," when the reply was, "Anciently king Great was fond of women and loved his wife." Ode III. i. III. 2 is then quoted by Mencius to the effect that "Ancient-Duke-True-Father (the former title of king Great) came galloping his horses, together with the lady of Chiang, to the foot of Ch'i hill, where they chose a site for a settlement." He continues, "If you love beauty, let the people be able to gratify the same feeling, and you may attain the Imperial dignity."

I. ii. VIII. "King Hsüan of Ch'i asked, 'Is it true that T'ang banished Chieh, and that king Wu smote Chou?' Mencius replied, 'It is so stated in history.' The king said, 'Dare a minister murder his sovereign?' The reply was, 'He who outrages humanity is called a robber, and he who outrages

justice a villain. The villain and robber we call solitary individuals. I have heard of the execution of the solitary individual Chou, but not of a sovereign's murder.'" In the 'Shuching,' V. i. 3, king Wu says, "He who cherishes us is our sovereign, but he who tyrannizes over us is our enemy. The lone individual Chou having, I greatly think, played the tyrant, is your perpetual enemy." There is a great similarity in the wording of these two passages.

I. ii. XI. "It is said in the 'Book of History,' When T'ang began the work of punishment, he began with Ko." The text of 'Shuching,' IV. ii. III. 6, is quoted, but incorrectly. After inserting, "The empire had confidence in him," Mencius continues the quotation, then interpolates four or five more sentences, and omitting the clause, "To whatever people he went they congratulate one another in their houses," he concludes the quotation with, "The 'Book of History' says we have waited for our prince; the prince's enemy will be our reviving." The quotation is repeated later (III. ii. V. 4), similar sentences being interpolated and omitted.

II. i. II. Mencius says, "At forty I had an unperturbed mind," which is similar to the remark of Confucius, viz. "At forty I had no doubts" ('Ana,' II. iv. 3). When asked by a disciple how he maintained an unperturbed mind, Mencius replied, "The will is the leader of the energy, which is the fulness of the bodily organism. The will is supreme, and the energy is subordinate to it. Therefore it is said, 'Restrain the will and do no violence to the energy,'" or passion-nature, as Legge translates the word.

II. i. II. 19. Kung Sun-chow having asked Mencius if he was a holy man, the latter replied, "Formerly Tzŭ-kung asked Confucius if he was a holy man, to which Confucius replied, 'A holy man is what I cannot be. I am an insatiable student and an unwearied teacher.' . . . Now, as even Confucius would not have

himself regarded as a holy man, what *were* you saying just now?" Cf. 'Ana.,' vii. 33. "A holy man and a philanthropist, said the Master, how should I have the ambition to be that? I am just an insatiable student and an unwearied teacher of others, that is all." Both these passages are so nearly alike that they seem to proceed from the same source. Kung sun-chou continues, "Can Confucius be compared with Po-yi or I-yin? The reply is, 'No! From the birth of mankind until now there has never been one other Confucius.' Tsai-wo, Tzū-kung, and Yu-jo were wise enough to recognize a holy man. Now, Tsai-wo said, 'In my opinion the Master is far more worthy than Yao or Shun.' Yu-jo, after comparing the sage to the Ch'i-lin among quadrupeds, and the phoenix among birds, said, 'From the birth of mankind until now there has never been one who could surpass Confucius.'" Cf. 'Ana.,' xix. 24, where it is said, "Confucius is beyond reach of depreciation, and like the sun and moon unattainable"!

II. ii. II. 5. "The 'Book of Rites' says, 'When the father calls there must be no lingering response; when the prince's order is issued, do not wait for the carriage.'" The sense of two passages from the 'Book of Rites' is here combined.

II. ii. XIII. "Chung-yu said, 'Master, formerly I heard you say, The superior man does not murmur against Heaven, nor grumble against man.'" The remark here attributed to Mencius is, in 'Ana.,' xiv. 37, uttered by Confucius! It is hardly likely that it was originated by both sages.

III. i. II. 2. "The philosopher Têng said, 'The rules of propriety should be adhered to in ministering to our parents when alive, in burying them when dead, and in offering sacrifices to them.'" Here, again, there is a confusion as to the authorship of the remark, for in 'Ana.,' ii. 5 we find that the words were spoken by Confucius in reply to a question by Mêng-I.

Dr. Legge observes that he thinks it likely that Mencius had forgotten who had made the remark!

III. i. II. 4. "Confucius said, When the prince dies one gives heed to the prime minister. . . . The virtue of the prince is as the wind, and that of the inferior as the grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows on it." These sentences are to be found in 'Ana.,' xiv. 43, and 'Ana.,' xii. 19, but the five intermediate sentences are an amplification.

III. i. IV. 7. "In the time of Yao," said Mencius, "the vast waters flowing out of their channels caused a universal inundation. . . . Yao raised Shun to office, and regulated the disorder. . . . Yü separated the nine rivers, cleared the courses of the Chi and T'a, and led them to the sea . . . and regulated the courses of the Huai and Ssü. . . . Hsieh was appointed minister of instruction." These sentences although not quotations are very similar to the phraseology of the 'Shu-ching.' "Yü was abroad eight years, and though he thrice passed the door of his home he did not enter it." This clause is not in the 'Book of History,' but it is strangely like a sentence in the 'Historical Records' beginning 'Yü was abroad thirteen years.'

III. i. IV. 11. "Confucius said, 'Great, indeed, was Yao as a sovereign. If Heaven only is great, then was Yao alone after its pattern! Profound, indeed! The people could find no name for him.' A prince, indeed, was Shun. Sublime, indeed, was his handling of the empire. It was as nothing to him." These clauses are to be found in 'Ana.,' viii., chs. 18, 19, with a slight addition, and the omission of Yü's name.

III. ii. I. "The history says, 'By bending one cubit you straighten eight.'" Mencius more than once quotes vaguely from history, but it is impossible to know which history is referred to. . . . "Mencius said, Formerly duke Ching of Ch'i was hunting, and summoned his forester with a flag. As he did not

come he was about to kill him. The determined officer never forgets the ditch and stream, nor the brave officer that he might lose his head. What was it that Confucius approved? He approved his not going when summoned with that (article). How is it if one goes without waiting for the invitation?" This incident is referred to in the 'Tsochuan' under the twentieth year of duke Ch'ao, only there the man was summoned with a *bow*, and Confucius' observation on the matter was different, and implied that a *fur cap* was the proper article for summoning a forester. Is the inaccuracy to be accounted for by the suggestion of another 'lapse of memory'?

IV. i. III. "Mencius said, 'The three dynasties obtained the empire by humanity, and lost it by inhumanity.'" If, as we are told, the 'three dynasties' refer to the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, we have a bold prophecy in this remark, as the Chou dynasty was still in existence.

IV. i. 13. "I have heard that the lord of the West knows well how to nourish the old." It is curious that we come across these words in the 'Historical Records' (32. 2), although not given as a quotation.

IV. i. 17. "Shun-yu-k'un said, 'Do the 'rules of propriety' say that men and women should not let their hands touch each other in giving and receiving?' Mencius said, 'It is the rule.'" There is here a clear reference to 'Lichi,' II. 3. 31, consequently this clause must have been written after the 'Lichi' was written. In IV. i. 1. 6 there is another saying from the 'Lichi,' viz. "In order to build high, one ought to avail one's self of elevations, to dig deep one must use streams and lowlands;" and we find other phrases from the same work.

IV. ii. 1. "Shun was born in Chufêng, moved to Fuhsia, and died in Mingt'iao, a man of the Eastern barbarians. King Wên was a native of Ch'i-chou and died at Pi-ying, a Western barbarian." In the

'Records,' it is, however, stated that Shun was a native of Ch'i-chou, and died in the wilds of T'sang-wu, while the author does not state where king Wên was born or died.

IV. ii. 8, 14. "Mencius said, Man must hold to inaction, when he may be able to act. . . . Confucius' inaction was extreme. . . . The superior man arrives at profundity by Tao (the Way), because he wishes to get hold of it as in himself. Having secured it, he dwells in it calmly. Abiding in it calmly, he commits himself to what is profound. Committing himself to the profound, he receives from left and right and arrives at the original sources. This is why the superior man wishes to get possession of himself." These phrases are not very intelligible, but there seems to be a reference to the Buddhist doctrine of inaction, which began to be current in China in the second century B.C.

IV. ii. 21. "Mencius said, The traces of Imperial rule were extinguished, and the odes were lost. When the odes were lost, the 'Spring and Autumn Annals' were made. The 'Carriage' of Chin, the 'Blockhead' of Ch'u, and the 'Spring and Autumn Annals' of Lu were all one, its subject being Huan of Ch'i and Wên of Chin, and its style historical. Confucius said, 'Its purport I ventured to collate.'" The expression 'Blockhead' reminds one of Blockhead, son of the emperor Chuan hsü, who, as the 'Historical Records' relate, was one of the four wicked ones banished by Shun to the four ends of the earth.

IV. ii. 24. In the 'Tsochuan' narrative, under fourteenth year of duke Hsiang, we read that Yin-kung'to learnt archery from Yukung-ssü. Not as here, *vice-versâ*.

IV. ii. 29. "Yu and Chi thrice passed their doors without entering them."

In III. i. IV. 7, this conduct is attributed to Yü only. "The disciple Yen (hui) dwelling in a poor

back lane with his simple wooden dish of rice, and his one gourd of drink—a condition too grievous to be borne—never let his cheery spirits droop. Confucius called him a worthy soul." This is a quotation from 'Ana.' VI. 9.

V. i. 1. "The emperor (Yao) ordered that his nine sons, two daughters, officers, oxen, sheep, and storehouses should be at the disposal of Shun." The 'Canon of History' only mentions one son of the emperor Yao, but the 'Historical Records' says that nine sons were sent to live with him.

V. i. 2. "His parents set Shun to work to repair the granary, and when the ladder had been removed, Kusou set fire to it. He was bidden to clean out a well, and scarcely had he come out than his parents came to bury him in it. His half-brother said, 'As the plot was mine, while the oxen, sheep and storehouses shall go to my parents, I will appropriate Shun's shield, spear, lute, and two wives.' Going into Shun's house he found him on the couch playing on the lute. 'I was oppressed with anxiety about you,' said he, and blushed." These details are only found in the 'Historical Records,' not in the 'Shuching.' They are almost word for word as in the former.

V. i. 6. In this chapter there are more passages similar to those in the 'Historical Records,' with slight verbal differences (see 'Shih-chi,' III. f. 21) "Shun presented Yü to Heaven. Seventeen years elapsed, and Shun died. When the three years' mourning had expired, Yü withdrew from the son of Shun to Yang town. . . . Yü presented Yi to Heaven, and after seven [in Shih-chi] ten years, Yü died. When the three years' mourning was over, Yi withdrew from Yü's son to the north of [Shih chi has South] mount Chi. Those appearing at court and litigants went not to Yi, but to Ch'i saying, 'He is the son of our sovereign.'" Further on we have the following sentences: "When T'ang died, Great D did not

occupy the throne. Outer-C [reigned] two years, Middle-I [reigned] four years. Great-A was overthrowing T'ang's statutes and laws when I-yin banished him to Dryandra for three years. He repented of his errors, was contrite, and reformed himself. At Dryandra he dwelt in philanthropy, and moved towards righteousness three years, listening to I-yin's instructions, and finally returned again to Po." Comparing the latter passage with the corresponding one in the 'Historical Records' we find that, although on the whole the extract from the Yin history as given by Mencius is the more condensed, the style, and in many respects the wording, is so much alike in both, that one is still more driven to the conclusion that they are written by the same hand; moreover, the names of these old emperors, consisting as they do of an adjective and a cyclical character, must have been invented after the reform of the calendar (B.C. 104).

V. 17. Mencius is asked, "if I-yin sought an introduction to T'ang through his cutting and boiling, *i.e.* by his knowledge of cookery;" whereupon he replies "Not so. I-yin was a farmer in the prince of Hsin's territory, delighting in the doctrines of Yao and Shun. . . . T'ang thrice sent messengers to invite him. . . . I have heard that I-yin sought an introduction to T'ang by the doctrines of Yao and Shun, but I never heard that he did so by his knowledge of cookery." Now, it is curious that according to the 'Historical Records' there is authority for saying that I-yin adopted both methods, for we read that "I-yin, being in the train of the daughter of the prince of Hsin, carried the pots and dishes, and commencing with relishes, went on to speak to T'ang on the royal road; but some say that I-yin was living as a private gentleman, and that T'ang sent messengers to him five times before he would go; while attending T'ang he talked to him on matters connected with

the pure king and the nine lords." It will be noticed that there is a difference between 'Mencius' and the 'Historical Records' as to the number of invitations I-yin received. We see, however, VI. ii. 6, that "I-yin went five times to T'ang and five times to Chieh," although this detail is not mentioned elsewhere.

VII. ii. 37. "Wanchang questioning said, When Confucius was in Ch'ên state, he said, 'Let me return. My scholars are wild and impetuous. They advance and seize their object, but do not forget their early ways.' How was it that Confucius, when in Ch'ên, thought of the wild scholars of Lu? Mencius said, 'If Confucius could not get the men, who take the middle path, to impart instruction to, he would of course take the impetuous and undisciplined. The impetuous would advance and lay hold on things, and the undisciplined have something which they do not do.'" This is a jumble from 'Ana.,' V. 21, and 'Ana.,' XIII. 21, but although the sense is the same, the wording is slightly different. The observation of Mencius is in the 'Analects' uttered by Confucius, yet there is no hint as to its having been spoken by the earlier sage. The confusion as to the authorship of a remark occurs so often that it can only be attributed to carelessness in compilation.

VII. ii. 38. "Mencius said, 'From Yao and Shun to T'ang were 500 odd years. . . . From T'ang to king Wên were 500 odd years. . . . From king Wên to Confucius were 500 odd years. . . . From Confucius down to the present time there are 100 odd years.'" According to the usual chronology, we reckon from the death of Yao (B.C. 2258) to the first year of T'ang (1766) a period of 492 years; from the end of T'ang's reign to king Wên, say 610 years; from king Wên's death (1135 B.C.) to B.C. 551, Confucius' birth, we have 585 years; and from the death of Confucius (B.C. 479) to Mencius (B.C. 372) it was 107 years. It is

hopeless, however, to make the chronology agree even approximately with what Mencius says; but it is strange to find the same round number employed in the final chapter of the 'Historical Records' (ch. 129, f. 9.) "The grand historian said 'My father (or the ancients) stated that 500 years after the death of the duke of Chou Confucius lived, and that after the death of Confucius to the present time 500 years have elapsed.'" The duke of Chou is supposed to have died about the end of king Chêng's reign (B.C. 1079). If Ssüma Ch'ien had been referring to the above paragraph from Mencius' works, his name would naturally have been mentioned.

VII. ii. 2. "Mencius said, 'In the 'Spring-Autumn Annals' there are no patriotic fights.'" This is just an instance wherein the 'Spring-Autumn classic' is referred to by name.

VII. ii. 3. "Mencius said, 'Better no 'Book of History' than believe the whole of it.' From the 'Successful War' I will just select two or three passages. A humane man has no enemy in the empire. If the greatest humanity is in conflict with the greatest inhumanity, how could 'the blood have washed away the pestles of the mortars.'" Mencius quite misinterprets the passage from 'Shuching,' V. iii. 9. Dr. Legge points out that one commentator thinks that Mencius is anticipating the attempts that would be made in future ages to corrupt the classics, and testifying against them! It certainly seems as if the author was casting a doubt on the authenticity of the 'Book of History.' We have already referred to the passage where Mencius says "the odes were lost when the 'Spring-Autumn Annals' was made" (iv. ii. 21) with the object of making it appear that the 'Book of Odes' was written long ago.

The above notes are sufficient to show that the 'Works of Mencius' must have been written by some one well acquainted with the other classical books,

as well as with the 'Historical Record,' and also after Buddhism had been introduced into China. It is probable that the author was Ssüma Ch'ien himself. His travels in Yunnan would remind him of the name of the town Mêng-tzŭ. The syllable Mêng is also found as part of the names of other towns in that region, and it may be connected with the Siamese-Shan Muong—a state of Mêng-tzŭ, the eunuch, who wrote Ode V. 6 in the 'Book of Poetry.' Mencius' name was Mêng-k'ò, the second syllable being homophonous with 'k'ò' a cowrie, and we know that Muong cowries were sent as tribute by the Aílao tribes after their subjugation by China (B.C. 110), which fact may have suggested the name to the historian.

CHAPTER XIII

TAOIST WRITERS: LAOTZŪ, ETC

AFTER passing under review the principal classics of the literary school it will be necessary to glance at what are known as Taoist works, and of these stand pre-eminent the classic of 'the Virtue of the Way' ('Tao-tê-ching') and the 'Divine classic of Nanhua.' The former is reputed to have been written about B.C. 515 by Laotzŭ, and the latter by Chuangtzŭ, whose date is given as fourth to third century B.C. Dr. Legge is of opinion that Taoism dates from the time of the Yellow Emperor (B.C. 2697), who, he says, was no doubt an early sovereign and a seeker of the Tao. The genuineness of the 'Tao-tê-ching' and of Chuangtzŭ's book he thinks is partly proved by the writings of Liehtzŭ (whom, however, Professor Giles says, was merely a creation of Chuangtzŭ's brain), and partly by the fact that the author of the 'History of the Former Han' dynasty speaking of Ssŭma Ch'ien said that "on the subject of the great Tao he preferred *Huang Lao* to the six classics;" and he concludes that by the expression 'Huang Lao,' must be meant the writings of Huangti (Yellow Emperor) and Laotzŭ, thus illustrating the antiquity claimed for Taoism. Dr. Giles calls the 'Tao-tê-ching' a forgery (*v.* 'Chin. Biog. Dict.' 1088).

Now the expression Huang-Lao does not mean Huang-Ti and Laotzŭ, but Buddhists (literally Yellow-Ancients, perhaps so-called from the colour of their garments), for in the 'history of the After Han

dynasty' we find that in A.D. 10, Liu-ying, prince of Ch'u state, although "wild and fond of society in his youth, became in old age addicted to the teaching of Huang-Lao. Studying to become Fou-t'u (a Buddha) he practised asceticism and performed acts of worship." Again, in the year A.D. 65, Liu-ying was said "to recite the mysterious language of Huang-Lao, and to be fond of the charitable tenets of Fou-t'u." In the 88th chapter (*op. cit.*) we learn that the emperor Huan (A.D. 147-167) "liked the mysterious religion, worshipped Fou-t'u-Laotzŭ, and the people being by degrees converted the preaching of the doctrine spread."

○ Falin in the 'Po-hsie-lun' brings a mass of evidence to show that Buddhism was known in China before B.C. 221, and quotes various writers to prove that Laotzŭ was identical with Buddha. One says, "The master transforming himself went to India and entered Nirvana;" another, "The master of the Laos was Sakyamuni." In the 'Holy Record of Laotzŭ' we read, "Laotzŭ, having transformed his body, mounted on a six-toothed elephant, and descending from the sun into the abode of the pure rice king (Suddhodana Raja) entered the womb of the lady Maya, and was born as the Buddha."

The 'account of Immortals' says that "his mother having brought Laotzŭ into the world under a plum-tree, he pointed to it, and said that he would take his name from it," but an incident of this sort occurs in the legend of the birth of Sakyamuni.

○ Ssuma Ch'ien is our main authority for the biography of Laotzŭ. He tells us that he was "born in Crooked-benevolence village, town of Severity, district Misery, state Ch'u. His surname was (Li) Plum, name Ear, cognomen Poyang, and posthumous title Flat- or Weighted-ear. He was curator of the record office at the court of Chou when Confucius came to question him about ceremonies. On this occasion he

told Confucius to 'put away his proud air, his many desires, insinuating manner, and extravagant ideas.'" Confucius reporting the interview to his disciples could only compare Laotzŭ to a dragon. Ssŭma continues: "Laotzŭ cultivated the virtue of the Way, his aim being to remain in obscurity and unknown to fame. He lived some time at the capital of Chou, but foreseeing the decay of the dynasty he left it, and went away to the barrier, where the warden of the pass Joy (Kuan-yin-hsi) said to him, 'As you are about to retire out of sight, I beg you will write a book.' Upon this Laotzŭ wrote a book in two parts consisting of over five thousand characters, setting forth his views on the virtue of the Way. He then went away, and it is not known where he died. Some identify him with Lao-lai-tzŭ (Venerable one of Lai), also a native of Ch'u state, author of a book in fifteen parts used by the Taoists, and a contemporary of Confucius. Perhaps Laotzŭ lived to one hundred and sixty or even two hundred years of age, for as he cultivated the Way he attained thereby longevity. One hundred and twenty-nine years after the death of Confucius the grand historian of Chou, Tan (Weight) visited duke Hsien of Ch'in and said, 'Formerly Ch'in and Chou were in amity, they separated, and five hundred years later were reunited; after seventy years of reunion an autocratic king will appear.' Tan may have been Laotzŭ; perhaps not; nobody knows. Laotzŭ was a sage who lived in obscurity." Here follow the names of Laotzŭ's descendants, and Ssŭma concludes thus: "Those who follow Laotzu's doctrine condemn that of the Literati, and the latter condemn Laotzŭ verifying the saying, 'Those who differ in principle cannot confer together.' Plum-ear taught that by inaction one might be transformed, and that rectification results from the doctrine of purity and stillness."

The disjointed and vague references to Laotzŭ's

having possibly lived two hundred years are what one would expect from those whose 'chief achievement is the prolongation of longevity,' but they have a tendency to cast an air of doubt on the whole biography. His name (Laotzŭ) may mean Venerable philosopher, or man of the Lao tribes. If, as I believe, he is merely a creation of Ssŭma Ch'ien's, the historian may have originally written the name Li-erh with the characters meaning 'Slit ear,' for he was also known as Weighted-ear, the name given to part of the island of Hainan, which came under Chinese rule B.C. 111, because the chief men of that country used to slit the lobes of their ears and insert weights, which made them hang three inches below the shoulder, although the ears of the common people were only allowed to touch the shoulder. The 'Hill and Sea classic,' chap. 10, also refers to this peculiarity. No doubt the historian saw many of these people during his travels in the west of China, where, too, he became imbued with Buddhist doctrines. The name Kuan-yin-hsi was perhaps intended as a play on Kuan-shi-yin, the deity who 'regards the sounds of the world' or Avalôkitêshvara. The principles of quietism, humility, vacuity, freedom from desire, purity, etc., which are taught in the 'Tao-tê-ching' are Buddhist doctrines, and Mr. Beal ('Buddhist Literature in China,' p. 31) says that Wu-wei (inaction) was employed as a synonym for Nirvana, that condition of freedom which consists in a freedom from self. Again a 'man of Tao' was frequently used for a Buddhist ascetic ('Fahsien,' ch. 4) and the 'tree of Tao' was the rendering for Bodhi-druma or Tree of Intelligence, so that Tao is the equivalent of Bodhi or Intelligence. Taoism was then based on Buddhism, and this will appear more clearly when we study the writings of Chuangtzŭ.

Ssŭma's biographical notice of Chuangtzŭ is a most flattering one. He says that "his erudition was most

varied, but his chief doctrines were based on the sayings of Laotzŭ. Consequently his writings, which extend to over one hundred thousand words, are mostly metaphorical. He wrote the 'Old Fisherman,' 'Robber Chê,' and 'Opening Boxes' with a view to satirize the Confucian school, and to bring into prominence the principles of Laotzŭ. Such characters as Wei-lei-hsü and Kêngsangtŭ are fictitious, and those pieces, where they occur, are not narratives of real events. But yet Chuangtŭ was an admirable and skilful writer; his instances were so pointed and his comparisons so caustic, that he scarified the disciples of Motzŭ and Confucius. The best scholars of his time could not escape from or reply to his satire; his sayings like a vast flood spread unchecked wherever he pleased; and thus it happened that the greatest men from princes and ministers downwards could not use him for their own purposes. King Wei of Ch'u, hearing of his ability, sent messengers to Chuangchou with large gifts to bring him to court, and promising to make him his chief minister. But Chuangchou laughed and said to them, 'A thousand ounces of silver would be great wealth, and to be a high minister of state a grand position indeed, but have you never seen the victim-ox for the border sacrifice? When after being fattened for several years it is decked with embroidery and made ready for its entry into the grand temple, would it not willingly then change places with some little pig? Begone! Defile me not! I would rather amuse myself and be happy in the middle of a ditch than submit to the restrictions of a ruler's court. I will never take office. Thus I shall remain free to follow my own inclinations.'

The following remarks seem to suggest themselves on the text of Chuangtŭ.

Chap. I. It is surely absurd to build up an argument, as Dr. Legge does, on the strength of the work written, as it is alleged, by Liehtzŭ, for we are here

dictinctly told that he was a personage "who could ride on the wind and travel whithersoever he wished, staying away as long as fifteen days." "The perfect man, who has no identity, the spirit man who has no merit, and the saint who has no reputation (or fame)" seem to refer to the different classes of Arhats, Aryas, and Saints. When we read that "on Miao-ku-shê mountain (? Merukuta) there lives a spirit-like man who, . . . riding on clouds with flying dragons for his team, roams beyond the four seas," we think of the Arhats, who had a supernatural power of travelling at will through space.

Chap. II. The 'Spring-Autumn classic' is spoken of by name as a book wherein "the holy man indicates his judgments, but does not argue about them," so our author must have seen it. Cf. 'Mencius,' IV. ii. 21.

Both the Yellow Emperor and Confucius are spoken of as students of the doctrine of the Tao. At the close of the chapter we have the anecdote of Chuangtzŭ dreaming he was a butterfly, with respect to which Dr. Legge observes that the Taoism here can hardly be distinguished from the Buddhism that holds all human experience is merely so much *maya* or illusion.

There is a good deal of what may be called Buddhistic talk. Tzŭ-ch'i of Nankuo is found to be in a state of *Samadhi*, for his companion says that his body had become like 'dry wood, and his mind like dead ashes. In chap. 21, Confucius finds Laotzŭ in this state, and in chap. 24, another—Tzŭch'i—is also in a similar condition. Further on Chuangtzŭ says, "Heaven and earth and I came into being together, and I and everything therein are One," which has a Buddhist ring about it. Again, "I heard Confucius say, 'The holy man pays no heed to mundane affairs; . . . without speaking he can speak, and he can speak without saying anything,

and so he roams beyond the dust and dirt of the world.'” The Sanskrit term *Viradja* (*Sariputra's* paradise) means ‘free from dust.’ (*Watter's 'Essays,'* p. 451.)

Chap. III. “When *Laotzŭ* died, *Ch'in shih* went into the room to mourn.” This does not agree with the statement in *Ssŭma's* biography to the effect that we do not know where *Laotzŭ* died. At the end of the chapter we read, “The ancients described death as the loosening by the god of the cord on which life was suspended. We can point to the fuel consumed, but the fire may be transmitted, and we know not that it comes to an end.” We have here the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

Chap. IV. “When Confucius was in the *Ch'u* state, *Chieh-yu*, the madman of *Ch'u*, wandering past his door, cried, ‘O phoenix! O phoenix! How has thy virtue fallen! Unable to wait for the coming years or to go back into the past.’” The meeting between these two is given in ‘*Analects,*’ xvii., but the rest of the madman’s speech is different. It would seem that our author was acquainted with the ‘*Analects,*’ which is almost literally quoted.

Chap. V. “One *Ch'ang-chi* speaking to Confucius, said, ‘This *Wang-T'ai* has been mutilated, yet his disciples divide the *Lu* state equally with yours, Master. He stands up, but does not preach; he sits down, but does not argue; but those who go to him empty come back full. Surely he conveys the instruction without words.” He seems to be advocating the doctrine of passivity, and quoting from the ‘*Tao-tê-ching,*’ chap. 2.

Chap. VI. *Chuangtzŭ*, speaking of the antiquity of *Tao*, mentions many legendary rulers, some of whom are referred to in the ‘*Historical Records.*’ He says, “*Tao* was inactive and without bodily form. . . . It was before Heaven and earth, yet cannot be said to have existed long; it was older than the

highest antiquity, yet cannot be called old. Hsi-wei obtained it, and by it fashioned heaven and earth. Fuhsi (B.C. 3200) obtained it, and penetrated the mystery of primary matter. The Great Bear obtained it, and has never erred from its course. The sun and moon obtained it, and have never ceased to revolve. K'an-p'í obtained it, and thus became lord of K'un-lun. . . . The Yellow Emperor obtained it, and thereby soared on the clouds to heaven. Chuan-hsü obtained it, and thereby dwelt in the Dark Palace. Yü-ch'iang obtained it, and was thereby set on the North Pole. The Western-King-Mother obtained it, and had her seat at Shaokuang, since when no one knows, until when no one knows." [This lady, according to some accounts, dwelt on the K'un-lun mountains, (called in the West mount Hsü-mi, *i.e.* Sumeru) attended by azure birds. At her abode near the lake of gems stood the famous peach tree, the fruit of which ripened once in three thousand years, and conferred immortality on those who ate it. The legend is found in the 'Hill and Sea' classic. If three dots are added to the last character of the name, it would read 'Western-Gem-Sea,' and may refer to the Azure sea, whence the Yellow river takes its source.] "P'êng-tsu obtained it, and lived from the time of Shun to that of the Five Chieftains (*i.e.* from 2255 to seventh century B.C.). Fu-yue obtained it, and so as minister to Wuting (B.C. 1324) he quickly had the empire under his control. And now, riding on Scorpio, and drawn by Sagittarius' he is enrolled among the stars."

We have Confucius frequently praising the system of the Tao as superior to his own. To Tzükung, his disciple, he says, "Fishes grow in water, man develops in Tao. If fishes get ponds to live in they thrive. If man gets Tao to live in he will have no cares, and live his life in peace. Hence the saying, 'Fish forget one another in rivers and lakes; men forget one another in the mystery of Tao.'"

Again, his favourite disciple, "Yenhui said, 'I am progressing.' 'How so?' said Confucius. 'I have got rid of charity and duty,' was the reply. 'Very good, but not perfect.' Another day Yenhui met Confucius and said, 'I am progressing, I have got rid of ceremonial and music.' 'Very good, but not perfect.' A third day he met the Master and said, 'I am progressing, I sit still and get rid of everything.' 'Sit still and get rid of everything! What do you mean by that?' said Confucius anxiously. 'I have freed myself from the body, and discarded my reasoning powers,' said Yen-hui, 'and by thus getting rid of body and mind I have become One with the Great Penetrator. This is what I mean by sitting and getting rid of everything.' 'If you have become One,' said Confucius, 'you are without bias, and so transformed you are become impermanent. And if you are really so superior, I must ask leave to follow in your steps.'" The Great Penetrator (Mahàbhidjña) was a fabulous Buddha, one of whose sons was incarnated as Sakyamuni Buddha ('Eitel,' *s. v.*). The whole paragraph is Buddhist doctrine.

Chap. VII. 'Root-of-the-Sky' (name of a star) questioning 'the nameless man' about the government of the empire, is answered as follows, "Let your mind enjoy itself in abstraction, blend your energy with inaction, let all things take their natural course without admitting the element of self, and the empire will be well-governed." Further we are told, "Inaction is the controller of fame, the treasury of all plans, the focus of responsibility, and the lord of wisdom. . . . It is absolute vacuity. The perfect man employs his mind as a mirror. It takes nothing, it refuses nothing; it receives but does not retain; and thus he can triumph over matter and do no injury."

Chap. IX. The superiority of the natural over the artificial, and the Taoist over the Confucian system advocated, for "when sages appeared, what with

their extravagance in music and their gesticulations with respect to ceremonies, the empire became divided against itself. Were natural instincts not departed from, what need would there be for music and ceremonies? . . . Annihilation of the characteristics of the Tao in order to practise charity and duty to one's neighbour; this was the error of the sages."

Chap. XI. The doctrine of passivity is recommended for governing the empire, and then follows a quotation from chapter 13 of the 'Tao-tê-ching' without any hint as to its authorship. . . . Laotzŭ says that one should be "careful not to meddle with men's minds, for anciently the Yellow Emperor was the first to interfere with the mind of man with his charity and duty to one's neighbour, and that Yao and Shun exhausted their energies in framing laws and statutes, but without success. On this Yao confined Huantou on mount Tsung, drove the three Miao tribes to San-wei and banished the Minister of Works to the dark capital." The last paragraph is a quotation from the 'Book of History.' "Then we are carried on to the kings of the three dynasties (Hsia, Shang, and Chou), when the empire was in a state of great unrest. . . . After that the Literati and the followers of Motzŭ arose. . . . Men's natures became corrupt. All were eager for knowledge, and the people were exhausted with their searchings. . . . Then I said, 'Cast off your holiness, discard your knowledge, and the world will be well governed.'" This last sentence is a quotation from chapter 19 of the 'Tao-tê-ching' with some variation of text.

"The Yellow Emperor having been on the throne nineteen years, heard that Kuang-ch'êng-tzŭ was living on mount K'ung t'ung, and observing that he was well acquainted with perfect Tao asked in what it consisted. Being rebuffed the Yellow Emperor withdrew, resigned the throne, and lived for three months in a solitary hut, after which he went again

to see Kuang-ch'êng-tzŭ and asked how he might rule his body so that he would live for ever. The reply now is 'See nothing, hear nothing, let your spirit be wrapped in stillness, and your body will begin to take proper form. You must be still, you must be pure; not wearying your body, nor disturbing your vitality; and you will live for ever. For if the eye sees nothing, the ear hears nothing, and the mind knows nothing, the spirit will keep the body, and the body will live for ever. Guard that which is within you and shut off that which is without, for much knowledge is a curse. . . . Guard and preserve your body, and the rest will prosper of itself. I maintain the original One while dwelling in harmony with it. It is because I have guarded myself for twelve hundred years that my body has not decayed.' It seems an anachronism for the Yellow Emperor to have been instructed in what are practically Buddhist doctrines.

Chap. XII. "At the Grand Beginning there existed Nothing. Then came the Nameless." It may be noted that the period B.C. 104-101 went by the name of the 'Grand Beginning.' In the 'Tao-tê-ching,' chapter I, we have "The Nameless was the beginning of Heaven and Earth."

Chap. XIII. "The Tao of Heaven revolves, and there are no accumulations; thus all things are perfected," whence one is reminded of the revolution of the Buddhist wheel of the law. "Vacancy, stillness, placidity, indifference, quietude, silence, and inaction are the root of all things. By understanding this Yao won his position as a ruler, and Shun his as his minister." "By inaction you will be honoured, and if you are plain and simple there is no one in the world who can contend with you for excellence." The latter clause is a quotation from chapter 22 of the 'Tao-tê-ching.'

Confucius, wishing to deposit his books in the

Imperial library, goes to visit Lao-tan, and obtain his assistance in the matter, but being refused his aid, he proceeds to expound the twelve classics in order to convince Laotzŭ. This is probably so stated with a view to ascribe a fictitious antiquity to the classics.

Chap. XIV. We have here various conversations between Confucius and Laotzŭ in one of which the former says, "I arranged the six classics, viz.: the 'Books of Poetry,' 'History,' 'Rites,' 'Music,' 'Changes,' and 'Spring-Autumn Annals.' I spent much time over them, and am well acquainted with their purport. I used them in admonishing seventy-two rulers by discourses on the Tao of the ancient kings, illustrating the traces of (the dukes of) Chou and Shao, yet not one ruler has adopted my suggestions. Those six classics, said Laotzu, are but the worn-out footprints of ancient kings—they are not the shoe itself. . . . Once attain to Tao, and there is nothing which you cannot do; miss it, and there is nothing which you can do." It has been shown that the said classics were written in the Han dynasty, about B.C. 100. Cf. Ssŭma's biography of Confucius.

Chap. XVII. The anecdote of Chuangtzŭ being sent for by the king of Ch'u to take charge of the administration, and the manner in which he declines the honour, is very similar to the story as told in Ssŭma's biographical notice, except that we have here the simile of a sacred tortoise instead of a victim-ox.

Chap. XVIII. "Heaven and earth practise inaction, and so there is nothing which they do not do." This sentence is very similar to a clause in chapter 48 of the 'Tao-tê-ching.' In the final paragraph of this book there is a long series of transrotation of births which concludes as follows: "the leopard produced the horse, which produced man. Man then goes back into the machinery from

which all things come and to which they return." Dr. Legge thought this was a strange anticipation of the transformation system of Buddhism, but it is clearly written in imitation thereof, after it had become prevalent in China.

Chap. XIX. "My master, Liehtzŭ," asked Kuan-yin (Warden of pass), etc. Some might say this is an obvious anachronism, but for the fact that we are dealing altogether with legendary personages, as has been repeatedly pointed out. "This is acting but not from self-confidence, influencing but not from authority," stated to be the natural influence of the Tao in chapters 10 and 51 of the 'Tao-tê-ching,' from whence it is a quotation.

Chap. XX. "When Confucius was in distress between Ch'ên and Ts'ai, and had gone seven days without cooked food, then holding in his left hand a piece of dry wood, and in his right hand a stick, he sang a ballad." This is repeated in chapter 28, but there it is stated that he played on his guitar.

Chap. XXI. In a long conversation between Confucius and Laotzŭ on the Tao, the latter says, "The fluidity of water is not the result of any effort on the part of the water, but is its natural property. So with the perfect man and his virtue, he does not cultivate it, and nothing evades its influence. Heaven is naturally high, the earth is naturally solid, and the sun and moon naturally bright. Do they cultivate these attributes? Confucius went out and said to Yen-hui, 'In point of Tao am I any better than an animalcule in vinegar? Had not the Master lifted the veil, I should not have perceived the vastness of the universe.'" Confucius is thus made to acknowledge Laotzŭ as his master.

We have the story of Po-li-hsi also referred to in chapter xxiii., much the same as the story given in the 'Historical Records;' see also 'Mencius' V. i. 9; VI. ii. 6. "Confucius said, 'The true men of old

. . . filled the whole universe ; the more they gave to others the more they had themselves ;” quoting from chapter 81 of the ‘Tao-tê-ching.’

Chapter XXII. The first three words Ch’ih-po-yu (Knowledge roaming northward) which gives its name to the chapter, are doubtless a pun on the name Chü-po-yü, referred to in chapters 4 and 25, and in the ‘Analects,’ XIV. 26 ; perhaps the name K’uang ch’ü (mad and obstinate) may also be a pun on Chuang-chou. Cf. *Chieh-po-yü*, one way of writing ‘Karpasa,’ the Sanscrit name for cotton—Watters’ ‘Essays,’ p. 440. We have quotations from chapters 56, 38, 48, and 14 of the ‘Tao-tê-ching,’ the three first being put into the mouth of the Yellow Emperor ! Confucius questions LaotzŮ about perfect Tao, and the latter replied, “Purge your heart by fasting and discipline, wash your spirit as white as snow, and discard your knowledge.” Here and in many other parts of the chapter we have Buddhist views.

Chapter XXIII. Various ideas found in the ‘Tao-tê-ching’ are reproduced in this chapter. “If you exalt worth, the people will emulate one another ; if you trust in knowledge, the people will rob one another.” “LaotzŮ said, ‘As to the method of guarding the life, is it not in being able to embrace all in One ; is it not in being able to escape being lost ?’” “A child will cry all day long without its throat becoming hoarse, because the harmony (of its bodily system) is perfect.” The first of these three sentences may be traced in chapter 3, the second in chapter 10, and the third is quoted from chapter 55 of the ‘Tao-tê-ching.’ The embracing all in One, and so escaping being lost, evidently refers to absorption in Buddha, and seems referred to in section 9, where we read, “to be annihilated and yet to have a real existence, this is the unity of spirits.”

Chapter XXIV. Kuan-chung, duke Huan, Sun-shu-ao, Kouchien of Yueh, I-liao of Shih-nan, and

other legendary characters mentioned in 'Mencius,' the 'Historical Records,' and elsewhere, appear in this chapter. Dr. Legge has pointed out that it was impossible for Sun-shu-ao, I-liao, and Confucius to have been present on the same occasion, but we constantly meet with such anachronisms. Nu-shang says that when he speaks to the marquis Wu of Wei, whose date is given as B.C. 386-371, his remarks are based on the 'Books of Poetry,' 'History,' 'Rites,' and 'Music,' but we have seen that these books were written very much later than B.C. 371.

Chapter XXV. "T'ang appointed his equerry Mên-yin - têng - hêng (Gate - Warden - Ascend - Constantly) to be his tutor." This name, which is not found elsewhere, seems to resemble that of Kuan-yin (Warden of the Pass). "When Chü-po-yü was in his sixtieth year he became converted. What he had previously regarded as right he now held to be wrong." This remark is found repeated in exactly similar terms in Chapter XXVII., except that it is there attributed to Confucius, as being the person changing his opinions. "Confucius questioned the historians Great-Sheath, Senior-Ordinary-Ch'ien, and Pig-Leather." These persons are not referred to elsewhere, but the last character of the second man forms part of the name of the historian Ssuma. "By practising inaction there is nothing which cannot be done." A quotation from chapter 48 of the 'Tao-tê-ching.'

Chapter XXVI. Laolaitzu having been told that there was a person in the neighbourhood with long body, short legs, round shoulders and drooping ears, sent for him, saying, 'It is Confucius!' and when he came, said, "Ch'iu! Get rid of your dogmatism and your specious knowledge, and you will be a superior man." One cannot help remarking how very like this language is to the snub administered by Laotzü to Confucius when the latter went to visit him as

reported in Ssŭma Ch'ien's biography of Laotzŭ, and as he there says, some identify Laotzŭ with Lao-laitzŭ, one may suspect that the author of Chuangtzŭ's work was acquainted with Ssŭma's biography, and the 'Historical Records' generally, for we find the story of the sacred tortoise, which occurs in the ensuing section, in chapter 68 of the said 'Records.' Further on we have the following sentence, viz., "If the mind cannot roam to heaven, the six faculties will be in a state of mutual antagonism." If, as Dr. Legge supposes, this refers to the six organs of admittance (*chadâyatana*) of the Buddhist system, this is a further proof that this portion of the book at least must have been written during the Han dynasty.

Chapter XXVII. "He who is truly pure behaves as though he were sullied, he who has virtue in abundance behaves as though it were not enough." This is said by Laotzŭ to Yang-tzŭ-chŭ, but it also forms part of chapter 41 of the 'Tao-tê-ching.'

Chapter XXVIII. The story of the king Great T'an-fu (True-father) being attacked by savages of the north, and how he tries in vain to bribe them with skins and silks, dogs and horses, pearls and jade, is told in exactly similar language as that given in 'Mencius' I. ii. 15. Moreover the additional remark, which the king makes to the following effect, viz., "To live with a man's elder brother and slay the younger, or with the father and slay the son, is what I could not bear to do. To be the subjects of me or of these savages where is the difference?" is found in much the same terms in chapter 5 of the 'Historical Records,' where too we must look for the origin of the story given at the end of the chapter, about Po-i and Shu-ch'i starving themselves on mount Shouyang, rather than submit to the rule of the Chou dynasty. It must be noted, however, that there is an inconsistency in Ssŭma's account, because in chapter 5

of the 'Records,' where the history of the Chou dynasty is related, we read that the above-mentioned two worthies "hearing of the goodness of Western Chief," afterwards king Wên, "came and put themselves under his protection."

Chapter XXXIII. This, the last chapter, is thought by Professor Giles to be a summary of the volume by early editors. It is to be noted that the Canons of 'Poetry,' 'History,' 'Rites,' 'Music,' 'Changes,' and 'Spring-Autumn Annals' are mentioned, but they have appeared before in chapter 14. Passages, too, are quoted from chapters 28 and 7, etc., of the 'Tao-tê-ching.' In section 5 we read, "As regards the Taoist mysteries of the ancients, when Kuan-yin (Pass-warden) and Laotan heard the rumour of them, they were delighted therewith. They established their system on eternal nothingness, with the Grand Unity as their ruler. Their outward expression was patient feebleness and humble lowliness, while their real inward belief was empty vacuity and avoidance of injury to all creatures. Kuan-yin said . . . Look on gain as loss. Do not precede others, but follow them." Passages like these, as well as the utterances of Laotzŭ which follow, are found in the 'Tao-tê-ching.' The avoidance of injury to all creatures is certainly a purely Buddhist doctrine.

Lieh-tzu has already been referred to, in the notes on chapter 1 of Chuangtzu's work, as evidently a mythological personage. He is mentioned in some of the other chapters of the book in connection with the magician Chi-han, Kuanyin, etc. Liu-Hsiang (B.C. 80-9) says that he lived in the time of duke Mu of Chêng (B.C. 627-606), yet he frequently quotes Laotzŭ's sayings.

Hanfei-tzŭ and *Huai nan-tzŭ* also quote some seven-eighths of the sayings now worked up into the 'Tao-tê-ching.' Liu-hsiang, again, is responsible for the production of Huainantzŭ's writings. All these

persons were students of the magic and miracle working of the Buddhist priests in the early days of the Han dynasty.

Minister Hsün, or Hsün-k'uang, is most vaguely referred to by Ssūma Ch'ien, as I have already pointed out in my notes on the 'Book of Mencius.' Hanfei-tzū is stated to have studied under his tuition, but they may, both tutor and pupil, have been fictitious characters. Hsün talks of Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Emperor Chieh, and robber Chih in his essay on 'nature is evil.'

Ch'ü-yuan.—Several years ago Dr. Legge read a paper on Chinese chronology before the Victoria Institute, in which he said that the barbarous names in Ssūma Ch'ien's cyclical table could not have been invented by himself, because some of them are found in the poem called Li-sao, or 'Dissipation of Sorrow,' the longest of a collection called the 'Elegies of Ch'u.' Some ten years back the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* contained two articles, also by Dr. Legge, on the above-mentioned poem, and its supposed author, Ch'ü-yuan or Ch'ü-ping. The account is drawn from a biographical notice in Ssūma's 'Historical Records,' but it does not seem to have occurred to Dr. Legge to question the truth of these old 'Records,' or to admit the possibility of forgery by the Han scholars. The story goes that Ch'ü-yuan, a trusted minister of king Huai of Ch'u, was slandered by a fellow-official, and wrote the poem in question to relieve his feelings. Getting into further disfavour, he was eventually banished. Coming to the Milo river, he met a fisherman, said to have been a recluse, who, seeing him in distress, said, 'If the world is in confusion, why not follow the stream? Why must you keep your gem in your breast, and your precious stone in your hand, and cause yourself to be dismissed?' 'How can one who is pure allow himself to be defiled by the filth around him?' was the reply. The statesman then

composed another poem, called 'The stone clasped to the breast,' took a stone in his arms, jumped into the river, and was drowned. The suicide is said to have taken place on the fifth day of the fifth moon, and the festival of the Dragon-boats is supposed to commemorate it every year. On this occasion long narrow barges, with high stems and sterns carved to represent dragons, are propelled with paddles by some thirty or forty men along the rivers and lakes of southern China. One or two men in the centre of the barges continuously beat gongs and drums, and there is frequently a man stationed at the prow waving a flag to urge the paddlers to greater exertions, the latter shouting with all their might as the boats race up and down. The noise goes on for four or five days, and when the holiday is over, the dragon-boats, which are not used at any other time, are put away until they are required at the following anniversary. The literati say that the body of the deceased statesman is being searched for at these times, but Ssüma Chi'en does not connect his name therewith, or mention the festival of the dragon-boats at all. Certain legendary persons, as the emperor K'u or Kao-hsin (B.C. 2400), the founders of the Shang and Chou dynasties (B.C. 1766 and 1122), and duke Huan of Ch'i (B.C. 640), are referred to in the Lisao poem, and so, if the books were really burnt by Emperor First of Ch'in to erase all traces of ancient records, this poem would certainly have been marked out for destruction; but we hear nothing of its being among those found in the hole of the wall. The remark of the recluse about the gem carried in the breast reminds one of chapter 70 of the 'Tao-tê-ching.' The twelfth elegy is admittedly written by Chia-I about B.C. 170. The festival is unknown to the northern Chinese, and we know that similar fêtes, with a procession of boats, of the same sort, form part of the New Year festivities held by the Siamese

in the fifth month (Bowring's 'Siam,' i. p. 116), and no doubt the Southern 'Man-tzŭ' are allied to that race. The name Ch'ü-ping may have been simply invented, as well as the whole story of the slandered statesman, by Ssŭma Ch'ien, who would naturally have been thinking of his own grievances caused by slanders of officials, at the time that the famous general Ho Ch'ü-ping was causing his name to ring throughout China by his victories over the Huns.

Confucius.—Most people would scout the idea of Confucius being a Taoist writer, but in the pages of 'Chuangtzŭ' we find that he often quotes from the 'Tao-tê-ching,' and there are many of his sayings in praise of Taoism, or rather, if my foregoing contention is admitted, of Buddhism. The frequent similarity of the teachings of all three religions has been noticed by various authors. Dr. Legge notices that 'Confucius is introduced repeatedly as the expounder of Taoism, and made to praise it as the *ne plus ultra* of human attainment.' We read in 'Chuangtzŭ' (Giles' trans.) ch. vi, "All that a fish wants is water, all that a man wants is Tao." This phrase is put into the mouth of Confucius, and Professor Giles thinks that it is 'by a literary *coup de main* that Confucius is here and elsewhere made to stand sponsor to the Tao of the rival school,' but when on another occasion Confucius, speaking to his disciple Yen hui, advocates the doctrine of Inaction, he recognizes the anomaly, and thinks it 'passing strange' that such a doctrine 'should be placed in the mouth of Confucius' (*op. cit.*, p. 48).

Sir Robert Douglas is of opinion that 'the process of decay has obliterated the lines of demarcation, which originally separated the three creeds, and that at the present day the dogmas of Buddha and Laotzŭ, and the teachings of Confucius may, as far as the masses are concerned, be treated as the foundations of a common faith' ('Encyc. Brit.' V. p. 671).

We are not told here at what epoch the three religions may be said to have become almost identical ; but in conformity with the above opinion it is instructive to turn to a conversation which Su Tzŭ-yu, a celebrated writer, who lived A.D. 1039-1112, is stated to have held with a Buddhist priest at Jui-chou in Kiang-si province, as reported in M. de Rosny's book on Taoism (pp. 75-79).

Su Tzŭ-yu observes, "It is stated in the 'Book of Equilibrium and Harmony' or 'Doctrine of the Mean' (I. 4), as long as pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy are not exhibited, the condition is called Equilibrium, but if they are exhibited, and are kept within due limits, the condition is designated Harmony. Equilibrium is the grand source of the world, and Harmony is the path by which it is attained. Perfect Equilibrium and Harmony is the throne of Heaven and Earth, whence all beings are nourished." If this is not Buddhist doctrine it is not far removed from it. . . . Lu Hui-nêng, the sixth Buddhist patriarch (A.D. 638-713) said, 'When one does not think of good or of evil, that is the true moment of existence.' . . . The phrase evidently expresses the idea of a state in which pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy have not yet been exhibited. The expression 'Equilibrium, is only another way of speaking of the perfect state in Buddhism, and by 'Harmony' we understand the general designation of all actions under the six degrees which lead to the absolute state. When one has reached the Equilibrium, and attained to Harmony, all beings in Heaven and Earth are born. How could it be shown that this does not answer to the Buddhist idea?" Taochuan (the priest) was astonished, and said, joyfully, "I was not aware of this at first, but henceforth I shall know all about it." . . . "About this time," continues Su Tzŭ-yu, "I began to write a commentary on Laotzŭ's book, and whenever I finished a chapter I shewed it to

Taochuan, who eagerly said, 'All this agrees with Buddhist teaching'!"

Su Tzŭ-yu's quotation from the 'Chung-yung' classic I have translated from the original. M. Rosny states in a note that the 'six degrees' are in Chinese 'the six means of passing to Nirvana' (pâramitâ).

Mr. Faber, in criticizing my pamphlet referred to in the Introduction, observes that 'historical China rests on the historical Confucius,' but says that Chuang-tzŭ's remarks 'intend to throw ridicule on Confucius, and have to be used with caution.' Dr. Legge mentions in his biography of the sage, pre-facing his early translation of the Confucian 'Analects,' the fact of the '*lin*' having appeared to Confucius two years before his death, which he considered was a presage of his own death, and with the record of which event he is stated to have concluded the only book, viz. the 'Spring-Autumn Annals,' which he is credited with having written. The eminent sinologist, however, characterizes as a legend the story of the animal having appeared to Confucius' mother before the birth of her son, when she tied a ribbon to its horn. In Dr. Legge's latter account of Confucius written for the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (vol. 6) the '*lin*' is not referred to at all, so it is difficult to say what the sinologists consider history and what mere legend.

The record of the capture of the '*lin*' is related in precisely the same words in 'Tso's commentary to the Annals' as in Ssŭma's biography in the 'Historical Records.' Ssŭma says there was a *lin* captured in the year B.C. 122, so it would be curious to find out if there really was such an animal.

The '*Erh-ya*' says that on this last occasion the animal secured by the Emperor Wu of Han dynasty when performing the '*Kiao*' sacrifice was like a spotted deer with one horn.

The '*Shuo-wên*' dictionary (A.D. 100) says that

the *K'i-lin* is a benevolent beast with a horse's body, ox's tail, and fleshy horns, and that *K'i* is the name of the male and *lin* that of the female. Another account says that the *K'i-lin* stood with its head thirteen cubits (over fifteen English feet) from the ground, while still another describes the *lin* as having scales or armour plates.

It is quite possible that the historian Ssūma Ch'ien saw during his travels in Western China two animals, one a spotted *K'i* with an ox's tail and fleshy horns, its eyes giving it a gentle or 'benevolent' appearance, and which stands fifteen feet high—in fact a giraffe; and the other a *lin*, with 'armour-plated' sides and one horn (on its nose)—in fact a rhinoceros.

Ssūma also says that 'after his mother had offered prayers on the *Ni* hillock she had a son K'ung-tzū (Confucius), who was born with a plasterer's knob on the top of his head (which a commentator says was low in the middle and high round the edges), whence he obtained the personal appellation of *Ch'iu* (hillock), and the designation *Chung* (second) *Ni*.' This knob does not seem to have much to do with a hill-shaped forehead, as Mr. Faber maintained, but is remarkably like the *uchnicha* mark of a Buddha, or an abnormal development of the skull, like a 'coiffure of flesh.'

Dr. Legge mentions that Confucius' father had by a former wife (before he married the sage's mother) a cripple son named Mêng-ni, so that some doubt is thus caused with regard to the origin of the name *Ni* in the family. The cripple was also known as Mêng p'í. As Ssūma is constantly in the habit of employing punning names in his writings, and was a rank Buddhist, it is probable that he borrowed his names from the sounds Pi-ch'iu-ni, which stand for Bikchuni, a religious female mendicant.

Ssūma further says that Confucius was 9·6 cubits high, *i.e.*, 11 English feet—or $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet, if the ancient

cubit was, as Dr. Legge says, shorter than it is now. He must have been a giant anyhow.

A few sentences from Ssūma's biography of the sage, which are mostly quoted from the 'Analects,' will be instructive. He says [The house of Chou had degenerated, rites and music had been neglected, and the 'Books of Poetry and History' had become deficient; so Confucius investigated the traces of the rites of the three dynasties (viz. Hsia, Yin, and Chou), and wrote a preface to the chronicles of the 'Book of History,' starting from the times of Yao and Shun, and going down to that of duke Mu of Ch'in, all the subjects being arranged in proper order. Confucius said, "The rites of the Hsia dynasty I can speak of, but Ki cannot supply a sufficient verification; the rites of the Yin dynasty I can speak of, but Sung cannot supply a sufficient verification" (clause omitted, "on account of the insufficiency of the texts and learned men"). "If they had been sufficient I could have supplied a verification" ('Ana.,' iii. 9). Taking into consideration "the suppressions and additions made (to the rites) by the Yin and Hsia dynasties, one can tell (what will be suppressed or added by a future dynasty) even for a hundred generations to come" ('Ana.,' ii. 23). For the ornamental style as well as for the solid subject-matter, "the Chou dynasty looks back on two past dynasties. How complete are its records. I follow Chou" ('Ana.,' iii. 14). Thus the chronicles of the 'Book of History' and the (Lichi) 'Record of Rites' come to us from Confucius. . . . Formerly the 'Odes' were more than three thousand in number, but when Confucius came he expurgated the duplicates, and only retained those which would be useful for the rites and justice. He selected firstly those concerning Contract and Lord Millet, transmitted secondly those relating to the prosperous times of Yin and Chou, and finally came to those treating of the decadent era of kings Dark and

Cruel. . . . There were three hundred and five pieces, all of which Confucius played on his lute and sang over, trying to bring them into accord with the harmonies of the Shao, Wu, Ya, and Sung music. From this time the rites and music could be known and handed down, so as to complete the royal path of duty and perfect the six courses of instruction (viz. the 'Books of Poetry,' 'History,' 'Changes,' 'Music,' 'Rites,' and 'Ch'unch'iu Annals'). . . . Confucius began to teach the 'Books of Poetry,' 'History,' 'Rites,' and 'Music.' His disciples were apparently three thousand in number; those who understood all the six courses numbered seventy-two persons, while those who, like Yen, Cho, and Chiu, assimilated portions of his teaching, were very numerous. "There were four things which Confucius taught, viz. letters, conduct, loyalty, and good faith" ('Ana.,' vii. 24). "Four words the Master did without; he would have no 'shalls,' no 'musts,' no 'certainly's,' no 'I's'" ('Ana.,' ix. 4). "The things which the Master was especially careful about were fasting, war, and sickness" ('Ana.,' vii. 12). "The Master rarely spoke about advantage, destiny, and duty to one's neighbour" ('Ana.,' ix. 1).] This is a curious statement, as all through the 'Analects' we find that Confucius spoke on the last-named topic. ["To one who was not zealous he did not explain himself, and when he had presented one corner of a subject to any one, if he did not respond with the other three corners, he did not repeat the lesson."] This paragraph is put in the mouth of Confucius in 'Analects,' vii. 8, with the additional clause, 'To one who is not desirous of speaking, I give no hint.' ["In his own village the Master had a respectful demeanour, and seemed to be unable to speak. But when he was in the ancestral temple, or at Court audiences, he spoke with great clearness, but at the same time guardedly" ('Ana.,' x. 1). "At Court, when addressing high officers of superior rank, he spoke blandly and courteously;

and when he addressed high officers of inferior rank, he spoke in a bold and straightforward manner" ('Ana.,' x. 2). "When he entered the duke's gate, it was with bent body; he advanced rapidly, extending his arms like wings" ('Ana.,' x. 4). "When the prince called him to direct him to receive a visitor he changed colour" ('Ana.,' x. 3). "When summoned by the prince's order, he would not wait for his carriage to be got ready" ('Ana.,' x. 13). "When the fish was tainted, or the meat bad, or when it was not properly cut, he would not eat it" ('Ana.,' x. 8). "When his mat was not straight, he would not sit on it" ('Ana.,' x. 9). "When he was eating by the side of a person in mourning, he never ate to satiety. He did not sing on the same day on which he had been weeping" ('Ana.,' vii. 9). "When he saw a person in mourning or a blind person, even if it was a young boy, he would be certain to change countenance" ('Ana.,' ix. 9 and x. 16). "When we are three men walking together (said the Master), I find there my teachers" ('Ana.,' vii. 21). "(The Master said), Failure to cultivate virtue, failure to discuss what has been learnt, inability to walk according to knowledge of what is just, and inability to change when one has acted wrongfully—these are the things which trouble me" ('Ana.,' vii. 3). "When the Master was in company with a man who sang, if he sang well he would make him repeat the song, and then he would accompany him" ('Ana.,' vii. 31). "The Master would not talk about prodigies, feats of strength, rebellion, or spiritual beings" ('Ana.,' vii. 20). "Tzŭkung said, The Master's teachings on his literary essays might be understood, but not his talk on the way to Heaven, human nature, and destiny" ('Ana.,' v. 12)], or "the Heavenly road and life." In this doctrine, so hard to be understood, the commentators think reference is made to the doctrine of the male and female principles contained in the 'Book of Changes.' M. Chavannes points out that

in the reading of this passage in 'Analects,' v. 12 ("human nature and the Heavenly road"), the words have been interpreted in the 'Book of the After Han' as signifying 'the conformity of human nature with Heaven' (literally, 'the conjunction of human nature with Heaven'), but that this could not be the meaning in Ssūma Ch'ien, because the words are transposed, and the word *ming*, 'destiny,' is added, but the expression '*hsing ming*' is often used for 'life.' We are constantly told of the mysterious unintelligible nature of the doctrine taught in the 'Book of Changes,' and Ssūma makes Confucius say, 'Give me a few more years, and I should have a perfect knowledge of the Yi (Changes)'—a sentence rather differently rendered in 'Analects,' vii. 16; but, as I have stated in my notes on the 'Yi-ching,' the doctrine seems to be connected with phallic worship.

Continuing the extract from the Biography. ["When Yen-yūan died Confucius said, Heaven is destroying me." ('Ana.,' xi. 8.) Then on the occasion of the hunt in the West, he saw the *lin*, and said, 'My course is run.' Afterwards heaving a deep sigh, "he said, 'No one knows me.' Tzūkung said, 'What do you mean? No one knows you!' The master replied, 'I do not murmur against Heaven. I do not blame men. While I study what is below, and penetrate to what is above, it is Heaven that knows me." ('Ana.,' xiv. 37.) "Those who subordinated their wills and disgraced themselves were Po i (Senior Even) and Shuch'i (Junior Level), I presume. One might say of Hui of Liu-hsia and Shaolien that they did subordinate their wills and disgrace themselves; of Yuchung and I-yi that they let loose their tongues, yet in their actions they preserved their purity, and in their retirement conformed to circumstances. As for me, I am different from these men. There is nothing that I must do, and nothing that I must not do." ('Ana.,' xviii. 8.) The Master said, No! no!

“The superior man would be annoyed if his name was not honoured after death.” (‘Ana.,’ xv. 19.) Since my doctrine has not been put in practice how shall I make myself known to posterity? Then from the records of the historians he composed the ‘*Ch’unch’iu.*’ Commencing with duke Yin he came down to the fourteenth year of duke Ai, thus embracing the reigns of twelve dukes. As he judged that (the princes of) Lu were closely related to (the Kings of) Chou, he imported into the midst (of their history events connected with) the three dynasties. His style was condensed, but his scope extensive. Thus the rulers of Wu and Ch’u styled themselves kings, but the Ch’un-ch’iu degrades them in calling them viscounts. Again the son of Heaven of the Chou dynasty was really summoned to attend the meeting at Chien-t’u, but the ‘Ch’un-ch’iu’ conceals the fact, and says that ‘the king by Heaven’s grace held a court of inspection at Hoyang.’ By putting them in the same category you have a rule for the present; the meaning of these censures and suppressions will be brought out and explained in the case of future kings, so if the meaning of the ‘Ch’un-ch’iu’ is still in force rebellious subjects and malefactors throughout the world will become afraid. When Confucius was in office the language he employed in deciding lawsuits was what others would have used, and in no wise peculiar to himself, but when he wrote the ‘Ch’un-ch’iu’ he wrote what he should have written and suppressed what he should have suppressed, so that men like Tzūhsia could not criticize a single word. When his disciples received the ‘Ch’un-ch’iu,’ Confucius said, ‘In after ages “I shall be known and shall be condemned by the ‘Ch’un-ch’iu’ alone.”’ (‘Mencius,’ III. 9. 8. . . . He died at the age of seventy-three on the day F-M of the fourth month of the sixteenth year of duke Ai of Lu (B.C. 479), who pronounced his funeral elogy.] This elogy is quoted in the ‘Lichi,’

'Tsochuan,' etc., and after the quotation a remark by Tzükung follows in both the 'Tsochuan' and this biography to the effect that "in not employing the sage when alive, and pronouncing his elogy after his death the duke Ai committed a breach of the rites."

From this rather long extract from his biography it will be seen that Ssüma makes Confucius to have been acquainted with the history of China from the times of Yao and Shun (B.C. 2350) to that of duke Mu of Ch'iu (B.C. 660). He refers to the Yin dynasty with its long string of emperors with cyclical or alphabetical names, and after mentioning Houch'i, the earliest ancestor of the Chou dynasty, which he speaks of as having come to an end—although the historians make it to last till B.C. 250 or about two hundred and thirty years after the sage's death—he hints darkly at what will occur one hundred generations after his time, or about the time that Ssüma Ch'ien wrote his history! The 'Book of Odes,' the 'Book of Changes,' the 'Ch'un-ch'iu Annals,' and the 'Li-chi (Record of Rites)' are all referred to by name, but in the latter case, say the sinologists, the 'Lichi' as we have it cannot be intended, as that was not written till the Han period: a similar argument might be applied to the other classics, and it might be said that Festal or Sacrificial Odes of the 'Book of Poetry' existed before those odes as we have them were compiled, or perhaps that there was a 'lord of Hsia' in the Han dynasty, who was a lineal descendant of another 'lord of Hsia,' founder of the Hsia dynasty over two thousand years before his day.

Most of those who criticized my paper, 'Is Confucius a Myth?' when it appeared, either thought that I meant it as a *jeu d'esprit*, or else they begged the whole question. Mr. Faber, however, treated my arguments more seriously. His chief points were:

(1) that the 'Analects' could not be a forgery; (2) that many works such as 'Tsoch'uan,' 'Mencius,' Suntzŭ, Lü-pu-wei, etc., were older than Ssŭma's history and were used by him; (3) that Confucius established a school of philosophy, many of his pupils becoming distinguished; (4) that he was acknowledged, even in his own time, as the greatest of Chinese teachers; (5) that the five classics, of which he is the compiler, are unsurpassed as text books; (6) that the persecution by Ch'iu Shi-huang proves that these books, and his followers, were felt as great powers; (7) that duke Ai of Lu ordered a temple to be built and quarterly worship to be offered to Confucius; (8) that his grave is better authenticated than any other old grave; (9) that his grandson, even if he were not the author of the 'Due Mean,' gained a great name; (10) that K'ung-fu is another connecting link between the Master's time and the Han scholars; (11) that I am incorrect in saying that the Buddha and Confucius were born in the same year; and finally (12) that Confucius had a hill-shaped forehead, and not the uchnicha mark of a Buddha, as I maintained.

With regard to the last point I have already shown, on the authority of Ssŭma's biography, that I am right.

I have pointed out that the mysterious manner in which the 'Analects' were 'discovered' casts an air of doubt on the whole story, and that the internal evidence shows that this book, as well as the other classics, must have been written by some one acquainted with Buddhism. The latter remark applies, as I have said, to the 'Tsoch'uan' and 'Mencius.' Suntzŭ, said to have lived in the sixth century B.C., did not write the 'Art of War,' and he is doubtless mythical, as also is Hsün-tzŭ. As for Lü-pu-wei, Dr. Giles has told us that the 'Spring-Autumn of the Lü family' is a forgery, written probably by some scholar of

the Eastern Han dynasty (see Giles' 'Biog. Dict.,' No. 1455). As for arguments 3, 4, and 5, we have seen that Ssuma makes out that the sage was doubtful whether his doctrines would be handed down to posterity, and based his whole reputation on the 'Ch'un-ch'iu,' which is the only book he is supposed ever to have written, and which is most meagre and quite unworthy of one who professes to start a school of philosophy. In spite of what we read in his praise in the pages of 'Mencius,' what, it may be asked, entitles him to the epithet of 'great?' I cannot find that duke Ai of Lu (if there was such a person) ordered a temple to be built, and worship to be offered to him, but if he thought so highly of him why did he not give him public employment? Why, too, do we find no further record of Confucius being publicly honoured until the year A.D. 1? Dr. Legge says, 'It is in vain that the western reader tries to quicken himself to any corresponding appreciation of Confucius.' He himself charges him with insincerity, and admits that 'he cannot regard him as a great man.'

Professor Douglas says, 'It is difficult to understand the secret of the extraordinary influence he has gained over posterity, and the more the problem is studied the more incomprehensible does it become. His system of philosophy is by no means complete, and it lacks life.' ('Confucianism,' p. 67.)

Professor Parker says, 'The Western cannot discover any symptom of extraordinary genius in him.'

Rev. W. Jennings (translator of the 'Analects,' 'Book of Odes,' etc.) does not think that 'Confucius uttered or did anything very remarkable beyond collecting and editing the traditionary lore of the country. There was in him no uncontrollable energy, no mighty passion; in his character everything was well measured and orderly. The selfishness in his teaching had the effect of making those who came under his influence feel themselves self-satisfied. He

allowed superstition in some cases, and he was not always strictly careful about the truth being told' (Jennings' 'Analects,' Introd.).

As to his grave, another of my critics, Rev. D. Williamson, says that 'he visited the place and counted the graves, generation after generation, one by one to Confucius himself—almost, if not altogether, a perfect register in mound and marble of that illustrious family'; but, as the worthy doctor says, 'clever men might have built these graves and graven the earlier of these stones' at a much later date, and that 'the graveyard might have been some gigantic deception.' It would be curious to know how long it took to count the graves!

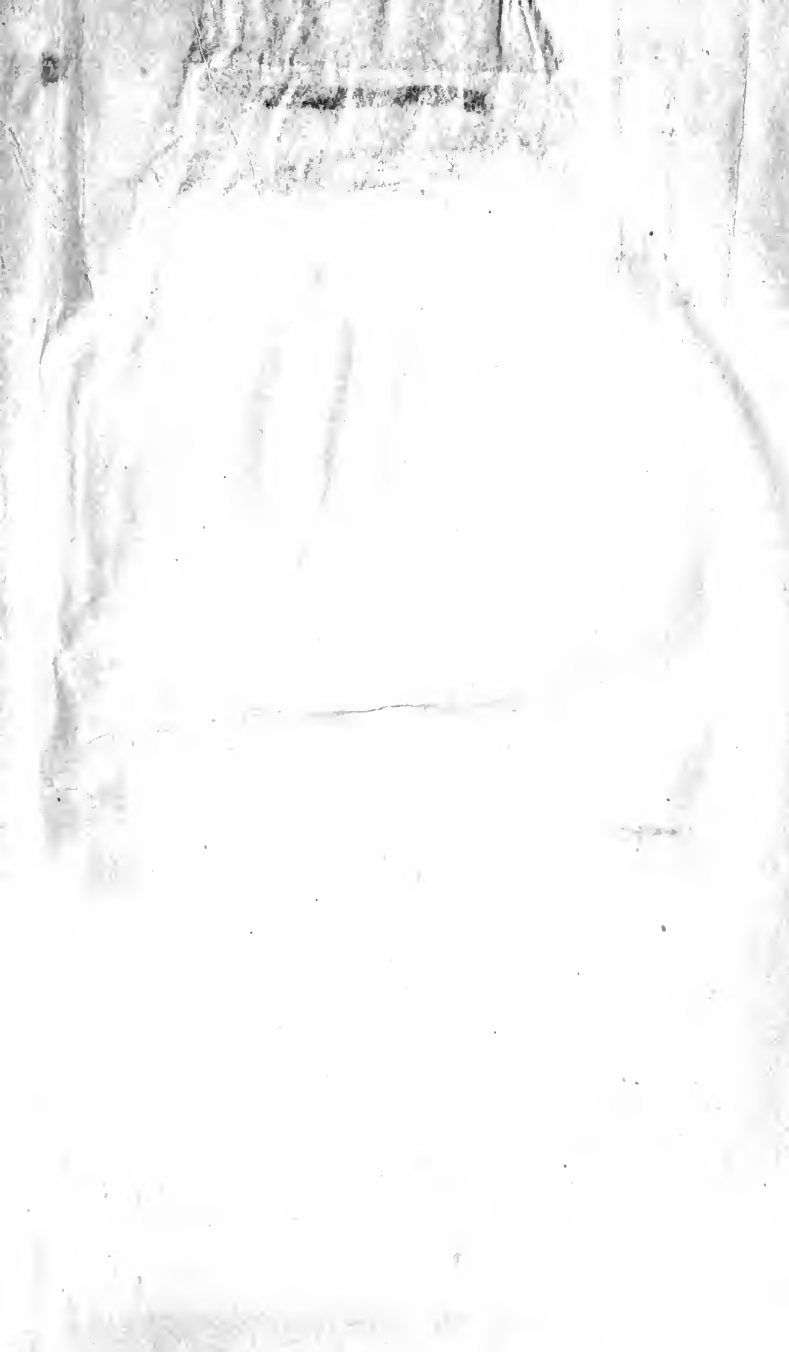
With regard to the burning of the books, there were no doubt many conflagrations, notably one about B.C. 206, when the public buildings burnt, it is said, for three months, which made great havoc of books or tablets, but it is absurd to put down the destructive Imperial edict of B.C. 213 as the cause for the total disappearance of the classics. It has been already pointed out that the statement in the edict to the effect that a copy of each was to be retained by the Board of Erudite Scholars ought to have made them easy to find when search was made for them. Apart from that, however, I have shown that they were one and all written about B.C. 100.

'Mencius' is one of the authorities for the fame of Tzŭ-ssŭ or K'ungchi, the grandson of Confucius, but I have pointed out that 'Mencius' was composed in all probability by Ssŭma Ch'ien himself. I have referred to K'ungfu in my notes on 'Mencius.' He, too, is supposed to have said that Tzŭ-ssŭ wrote the 'Due Mean,' which owes its place in the collection of treatises known as the 'Lichi' to the labours of Liu-hsiang (B.C. 80-9) and Majung (A.D. 79-166.) In my notes on the classic I have referred to its Buddhist tendency. It is doubtful when K'ungfu lived.

I am aware that authorities differ as to the date of the Buddha's death, but Max Müller gives it as B.C. 477.

The public can now compare the 'Records' with the several classics, and give their verdict as to whether the latter are, or are not, a stupendous forgery concocted about B.C. 100 by Ssuma Ch'ien and his friends.

THE END



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